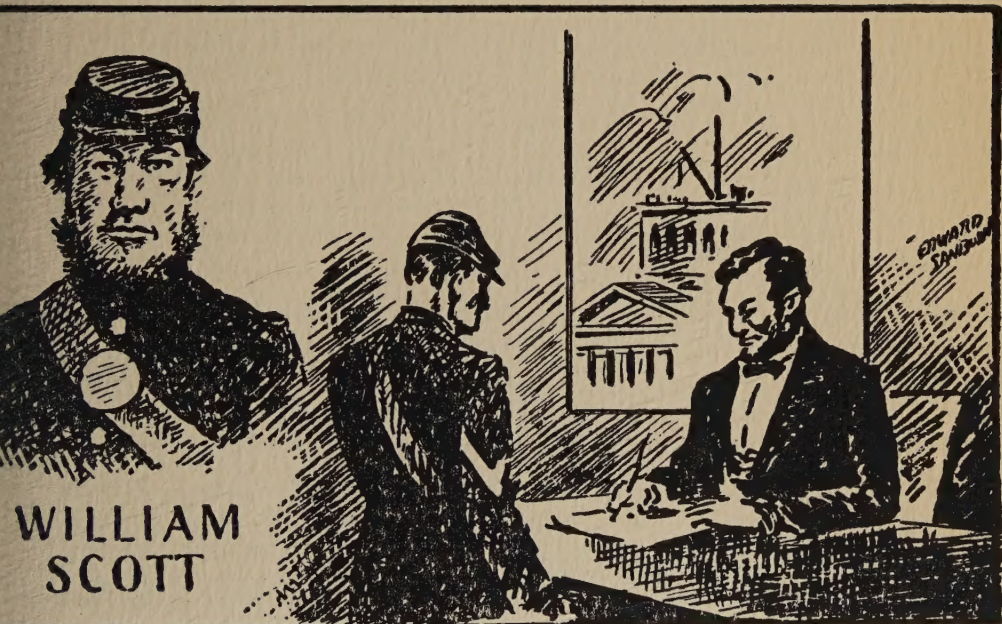


VERMONT *Quarterly*



WILLIAM
SCOTT

THE SLEEPING SENTINEL

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOL. XVI

No. 3



JULY

1948

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You and your friends are cordially invited to join the Society and thereby further its aims and objectives. Membership (three dollars) brings with it a yearly subscription to the VERMONT QUARTERLY, as well as special publication discounts.



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Quarterly

A MAGAZINE OF HISTORY



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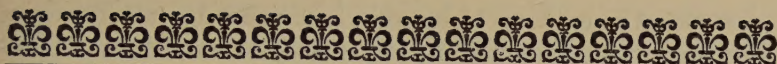
EARLE WILLIAMS NEWTON, *Editor*

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Roseline Peck

PIONEER HOUSEKEEPER

By COLLAMER M. ABBOTT

ROSELINE PECK is perhaps little known to her fellow Vermonters, but she is a woman of whom they might well be proud. She was one of the earliest of those pioneers who left her native state during the last century to take part in the settling of the western wilderness. She was a small woman full of vitality and stamina. Her flashing brown eyes suggested a quick, sharp mind; her witty and sometimes caustic tongue was ample proof.

When Roseline Peck left the sheltering slopes of the Green Mountains with her husband Eben, she could hardly have foreseen her role as a pioneer housekeeper in the rich but uncivilized Northwest territory. Philosophical acceptance of adversity and an inherent vitality sustained her throughout a long and arduous life.

It was only by accident that she became the first white woman to settle in the capital city of Wisconsin. But it was no accident that this sturdy little woman became one of the outstanding pioneers of the Northwest territory. For sixty-three years she battled and overcame, and helped others to overcome, the hardships of the rigorous frontier life.

Roseline Willard was born February 24, 1808, in Middletown, Vermont. She came of sturdy stock. Her mother was Julia Ann Burnham and her grandmother Burnham was a sister of Gen. Isaac Clark, a soldier of the Revolution known as the Old Rifle, who commanded a regiment in the War of 1812, making a successful expedition against Massequoi, Lower Canada, October 12, 1813. He was also a member of the Constitutional Convention and judge of the county court.

Eben Peck, a native of Shoreham, Vermont, came to Middle-

town to set himself up in business, and there he met Roseline. They were married on her birthday in 1829, when she was 21 and he 25. Sleepy Middletown was their first home, but they soon moved to Middlebury, New York, where they stayed for two years.

The young couple with their baby boy left the rich farmlands of Genessee county to set out on a perilous journey of over a thousand miles. They were early members of a great westward movement that for years drew so many Easterners away from the old homesteads.

Eben had been to New York state before. Perhaps there he had first been aroused by the magic lure of the West. Certainly, a Vermonter would be fired with ambition by tales of fabulously rich land that was free for the taking. Could it be that he had told his wife about his wild dreams and she had encouraged him? Whatever the cause, they had given up his business and now turned eagerly toward the wilderness.

In 1836 the railroad had not yet come to exploit the West. The way was a rough wagon trail winding through virgin forest and crude pioneer settlements. The Northwest was rich and verdant country, but undeveloped, populated by Indians and a handful of rough trappers and woodsmen.

With their team and wagon the Pecks travelled slowly by way of Buffalo, Detroit, Michigan City, and Chicago, arriving at Blue Mounds, Wisconsin, in July 1836. They immediately went to farming and stayed at it for a season, struggling to overcome the stubbornness of the untamed land.

About this time certain influential men of the territory were surveying possible sites for a new capital. One site had been selected in the region of the Four Lakes where the present capital of Wisconsin now stands.

Judge James Doty, an early pioneer and later governor of the territory, was a frequent visitor of the Pecks at Blue Mounds. It was he who persuaded them to go to Madison and set up a tavern where the surveyors, engineers, and travelers might find refuge.

The Pecks consented, and on April 13, 1837, they set out for Madison with Mrs. Peck riding an Indian pony. The night of the fourteenth they arrived at a point three miles from the present site of Madison where they spent the night in a tent. The howling of the wind and the wolves woke them in the morning to a world white with snow.

The next day they arrived to find a crude log hut prepared for them by Judge Doty on the shores of Lake Monona. Mrs. Peck refused to move into the house until it was plastered and floored. Once again they slept outside.

When Judge Doty appeared he was surprised to find that they had not occupied their new home immediately.

"I shan't move in until it's properly finished," was Mrs. Peck's candid comment.

Judge Doty, the future governor, and his men set to work daubing the cracks with clay to make the cabin tight and waterproof.

The Pecks then moved into their cabin to become the first resident family of the future capital. Mrs. Peck had the honor of being the first white woman resident. But in those days no honor was attached to being first. On the frontier it meant only hard work and privation.

"Little Mrs. Peck" became hostess to a steady stream of pioneers. If some were less respectable than others it meant nothing. She served them all. Besides, no one could tell then who might become governors or mayors or statemen. With undiminishing vigor she kept a "decent, clean table" for any and all who sought food and lodging.

An Englishman, who later became the British consul at Le Havre, stayed several days at the Pecks' during his tour of America. In writing about his travels he described the experience in terms which Mrs. Peck deemed derogatory to her cooking and hospitality and damaging to her character. Her reply to the "fine gentleman" was full of fiery, caustic wit.

Although Eben was ever present and distinguished himself by becoming the first justice of the peace, it was Mrs. Peck who dominated the household. She took pride in keeping a good house and making her guests comfortable. True, the English gentleman found his bed hard, but certainly Mrs. Peck was justified in feeling that thirty pounds of fresh goose feathers made a good enough bed for anyone. And so she told him. She had often been complimented on her fine coffee and was proud of it, but when a man—an Englishman at that—with few manners and less tact compared it with acorn juice—well, to a woman, that was defamation of character.

Besides the work of boarding and rooming the guests there was

also the need for entertainment. In this Mrs. Peck was also the leader. She was not only a good dancer and a witty conversationalist, but also a competent fiddler. Whether at the fiddle or dancing, her nimble fingers and feet made her the life of the party. Many a night was danced away to Mrs. Peck's cotillions, jigs, and reels.

A gala event took place in September, a few weeks after the birth of Mrs. Peck's daughter, the first white child to be born in Madison. Judge Doty himself proposed the toast and christened the child *Wisconsiana* after the territory. Victoria was chosen as her middle name in tribute to the young queen who had just come to the throne of England.

The first New Year's day in Madison was feted by a dance that lasted two days. Eben's brother, Luther, relieved Mrs. Peck from her fiddling occasionally to let her rest or take part in the dancing. Eben, as justice of the peace, officiated at the first wedding in April 1838, and Mrs. Peck furnished the music.

After a year of unceasing labor, the Pecks decided to go back to farming. Mrs. Peck was not physically tired, but as she said, "weary of being a servant to everyone." So they moved onto a farm that they had been working. They lived there until it was discovered that Judge Doty had sold them the wrong piece of land.

With few regrets, they moved to Baraboo, Wisconsin, in 1840 to start life anew. Once more they established themselves on a farm. In 1844, for reasons unknown, Eben Peck disappeared, leaving Mrs. Peck with the farm and the two children. The only news she ever had from her husband was a letter written several years later to a friend saying that he was living in Texas with a wife and five children.

Undaunted by this blow to the family fortunes, Mrs. Peck worked patiently through all the troubles that were to beset her. She continued to give her time and effort generously to new settlers who came in search of land. She often took in families with seven or eight children until they could stake a claim and then helped them build their homes without charge.

One day the house in which she had lived for eight years was completely destroyed by a drunkard. She was forced to live in a board shanty until she could get enough money to buy her claim. Before the money arrived from New York, a man bought the land.

She finally purchased it from him for sixty dollars more than it cost, but the man departed and she was unable to get the deed.

Later, when she had acquired some land, a group of three hundred citizens cut down a beautiful pine forest and hauled it away with never a word to the owner. By this time Mrs. Peck was justified in feeling that she had spent her whole life "in striving for others' benefit."

Thus the years passed. She was never rich in material things, often poor and often deprived of even the most meager comforts, but always working and always generous in helping others. She was not modest, but she was not proud. She had faith in herself and her ability to get things done. An iron will and an iron constitution helped her combat misfortune and endure the hardships of pioneer life.

When she was asked, in later years, to come to Madison to have her picture taken for the historical society, she scoffed at the idea. But she went, making the hazardous and tedious journey at considerable expense and inconvenience to herself and the two children. The historians were more interested in the picture and a twenty dollar contribution to their fund than in the spunky little lady herself. The trip took eight days and cost her fifty dollars.

At ninety-one Roseline Peck died at Baraboo, Wisconsin, respected and revered by her friends and neighbors. Many of the men whom she had fed and lodged surpassed her in fame and fortune, but probably none would deny that this woman's long labors had contributed greatly to pioneer life in Wisconsin and the Northwest. The green hills of Vermont were perhaps forgotten but one cannot help feeling that they had some influence in shaping the character and destiny of this pioneer woman. Her portrait now hangs along with those of other famous men and women of the state in the museum of the Wisconsin State Historical Society at Madison.



Vermont Fathers of Wisconsin

By JOHN B. O'BRIEN

THIS year the State of Wisconsin is celebrating the hundredth anniversary of its admission to the Union. At first glance, this fact might seem to be of only passing interest to the people of Vermont, some 1,000 miles away, but actually it is of much historic concern to the Green Mountain State. For the pioneers of Wisconsin included a large number of native Vermonters, whose importance was so great that they exerted a controlling influence in the formation of the new state.

Just why so many Vermonters went to Wisconsin and why the proportion from the Green Mountain State was so much greater than from the other New England states, particularly Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts, is a mystery. Or is it? Vermonters the whole world over love and revere their native state and those who in the late 1830's or early 1840's sought new homes in the West, to gain their fortunes in a new land, found in Wisconsin a territory strongly reminiscent of their own Vermont. Not that Wisconsin is a land of granite and marble, but it does occupy much the same geographical position. Vermont's latitude coincides with that of Wisconsin.

Vermonters, accustomed to severe winter climate, found much the same condition in Wisconsin, but they also found a land as capable of cultivation as the richest farm land in their own state. It seemed like a good place to stop and settle, and in proportion to its size, more of Wisconsin's pioneers came from Vermont than from any other state, although in actual numbers New York led.

These pioneers from Vermont were no ordinary settlers. Many of them were college graduates in a day when there were few colleges and only exceptional students went to college. A number of Vermont's leading families were represented and nearly all

were in the prime of life, physically robust, mentally alert, and by nature, inheritance and experience endowed with the qualities that make for leadership. It is, therefore, not surprising, that when Wisconsin's first constitutional convention was called, those from Vermont nearly comprised a majority.

The pioneers from the Green Mountain State who went to Wisconsin after the territory was organized in 1836 and opened for settlement were not the first Vermonters to come to the present "Badger" State. As early as 1817 a Vermonter, Willard Keyes, had ventured into the Wisconsin region where on September 8th of that year he went to work at Prairie du Chien, a lonely frontier outpost important to the American Fur Company, as a carpenter at \$26 a month. There was an American fort at this location.

Not until after the defeat of Black Hawk in 1832, however, was there any great rush of settlers, but the conquest of the Indians opened the way to real colonization, with the result that the "Territory of Wisconsin" was organized in 1836. As originally formed, the Territory comprised not only what is now the State of Wisconsin, but also Iowa, Minnesota and part of the Dakotas. With the organization of the territory, a period of great increase in population and expansion followed, and within ten years Wisconsin was ready for statehood.

About this time occurred two events which were to have a profound effect upon the history of Wisconsin, and in both of which natives of Vermont took a leading part. Undoubtedly they are important in relation to the great development of the country which began in the latter half of the 1830's. One was the extension of navigation to the Milwaukee River when the first lake boat ever to penetrate the river arrived on June 14, 1837. It was commanded by John Crawford, who came to Wisconsin from Chester, Vt. Crawford was born in Royalston, Mass., but his parents soon moved to Chester where they spent the remainder of their lives. Their son made a distinguished record, becoming a Major General, but the exploit of navigation in 1837 attracted such wide attention that it caused many settlers to come to that section.

At the time the village of Milwaukee was only four months old, having been organized in February, 1837. Captain Crawford then began regular trips with his steamboat, the Detroit, between Milwaukee and Chicago and Michigan City, in connection with a daily line of stages from Toledo and Detroit. The Detroit brought

to Milwaukee a large number of persons who were instrumental in the development of Wisconsin.

The other event possibly led to even more far-reaching results. In 1839, at Fort Atkinson, Milo Jones, a native of Richmond, Chittenden County, Vermont, inaugurated what was to become the state's leading industry, when on a small scale he commenced the dairy business in Wisconsin, becoming the state's pioneer cheese manufacturer. Today there is not a single county in the state where dairying and its supporting feed crops are not predominant.

After the passage by Congress of the enabling act of August, 1846, the first Constitutional Convention of 124 members was elected. In actual number of members, New York led all the states, but those from Vermont nearly comprised a majority. Out of a total of 98 members who recorded their birthplaces, 18 were natives of Vermont and some others had come from Vermont, although born elsewhere. One each came from Maine, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, while a son of Massachusetts had lived in Vermont since his first year. There were eight members who were born in Connecticut. The only state which had more native sons than Vermont was New York with 42, but the Vermonters exerted an amount of influence far beyond their proportionate numbers. One of them—Don Alonzo Joshua Upton—from Weathersfield, Vt., was elected president of this first Constitutional Convention. Of these pioneers, nine had served in the Territorial Council, three of whom were from Vermont.

These men were in the prime of life. In the first convention the eldest was 65 and the youngest 23; in the second, the eldest 65 and the youngest 25. Their average age was about 37, which was the age of President Upham when he called the convention to order. These men represented several walks of life. While the majority were farmers in a new and undeveloped country, there were at least 26 lawyers, several merchants and, among others, mechanics, miners, physicians and lumbermen. The high calibre of the membership was notable and historians refer to this Convention as "one of great, if not extraordinary intellectual ability."

The Convention met at Madison on October 5, 1846, sat for 10 weeks and two days, and concluded its labors on December 16, 1846. The constitution it produced was referred to the people who rejected it in April, 1847, by a vote of about 20,000 to 14,000. Whereupon, a second constitutional convention of 69 members

was called. It was in session from December 15, 1847, to February 2, 1848, its work was approved by a vote of 16,799 to 6,384, and on May 29, 1848, Wisconsin was admitted to the Union.

While the two constitutions differed somewhat in their wording, it was the first Constitutional Convention which created the framework of the government of the state. However, there were certain parts in this first constitution which were a bit too radical for the conservative New Englanders and some of them left the convention to campaign against its acceptance because of these objections. In this they were successful, but when the Second Constitutional Convention was called, the substance of the First Convention was retained and the only changes made were the highly controversial ones, such as the bank articles and those relating to the right of married women to hold property, real or personal, separate from their husbands. This latter was omitted from the Second Constitution, but was soon enacted into law by the State Legislature. The most discussed and the most contentious articles, however, related to the bank situation. The prevailing distrust of banks led to the inclusion of an article that there "should be no banks of issue in this state," but as national conditions improved, the people lost their fear of banks, and in 1851 and 1852 laws were passed permitting banks in the state.

Both the first and second constitutions, however, contained many important advances in government, for example, as regards the election of judges, but it is the First Constitutional Convention that is regarded as of the greater importance, even if it was rejected by the people, because it represents the foundation or framework of the State's government. Its rejection was due not to dissatisfaction with it as a whole, but merely to certain articles, most particularly those relating to the banks. The chief duty of the Second Constitutional Convention was to make the necessary modifications so that it would meet with general approval.

Some 52 members of the First Constitutional Convention served later in the State Assembly or Senate, and of these nine were Vermonters. From the smaller Second Constitutional Convention, four Vermonters served in subsequent State legislatures. One of these sons of Vermont served several years in Congress. Most of the Vermont members continued to play an active part in the government of the state, county or town where they resided and at least one missed the governorship of Wisconsin by very little.

Who were these Fathers of Wisconsin? What was the record of these men who contributed so much to the development of the new state? Since those who came from the Green Mountain State appear to have held the balance of power and to have used it so wisely and capably, Vermonters naturally are interested in knowing who they were. Biographical data at that time was not so carefully preserved as it is today, but it is possible to present a comprehensive picture of the background and foreground of these Vermont Fathers of Wisconsin. Descendants of many, if not most, of the families from which they came still reside in the region between the Connecticut River and New York State and Lake Champlain, but all loyal Vermonters should be interested in their story of endeavor and achievement, as presented below:

DON ALONZO JOSHUA UPHAM

President, First Constitutional Convention

Born, Weathersfield, Vt., May 1, 1809

Graduate, Union College 1831

Lawyer

Ass't prof. math., Delaware Coll. 1831-1834

Ass't editor, *Delaware Gazette* 1833

City att'y, Wilmington, Del., 1835

Editor and prop., *Gazette and Watchman*, 1834-1837

To Wisconsin 1837

Member, Wis. Territorial Council 1840-1841

Prosecuting att'y for Milwaukee Co. 1843-

Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846
From Milwaukee

President of Convention

Mayor Milwaukee 1849-1851

Nominee for Governor of Wisconsin 1851

Defeated by a small majority

U.S. Dist. att'y for Wis. 1857-1861

JOHN M. BABCOCK

Born, Vermont *circa* 1799

Pioneer farmer

Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846
From Dane Co.

Served on committee on the act of Congress for admission of the State

Died, 1848

JOEL ALLEN BARBER

Born, Georgia, Vt., Jan. 17, 1809

Student at Univ. of Vt. 1829-1832

Lawyer at Fairfield, Vt., 1834-1837
To Wisconsin 1837

Member, Board of Supervisors, Lancaster Co., chairman, 5 years

County clerk, Grant Co. 4 years

District att'y, Grant Co. 3 terms

Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846
From Grant Co.

Served on committee on organization and functions of the judiciary

Member, Wisconsin Assembly 1852, 1853, 1863, 1864

Speaker 1864

Member, Wisconsin Senate 1856, 1857

Member of Congress 1871-1875

Founded Lancaster Academy

HORACE CHASE

Born, Derby, Vt., Dec. 25, 1810

To Wisconsin 1835

Merchant

Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846

Member, 1st Wis. State Legislature 1848

Alderman of Milwaukee

Mayor of Milwaukee

NATHANIEL DICKINSON

Born, Calais, Vt., Dec. 20, 1810

Carpenter and builder

To Wisconsin 1843

- Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846
From Racine
Served on committee on boundaries and name of state
Member, Burlington Board of Supervisors 4 years, chairman 2 years
Justice of Peace
Captain in Co. G, 4th Wis. Regiment
- HAYNES FRENCH**
Born, Vermont 1808
Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846
From Racine Co.
Farmer
Died *circa* 1872
- GEORGE GALE**
Born, Burlington, Vt., Nov. 30, 1816
Lawyer
To Wisconsin 1841
Editor of *Western Star* at Elkhorn
Author
Member, 2nd Const'l Conv. 1847
From Walworth Co.
Served on judiciary committee
District att'y, Walworth Co. 1 term
Member, Wisconsin Senate 1850-1852
County Judge, La Crosse 4 years
Circuit Judge 1857-1863
Founder of Galesville
- JAMES GILMORE**
Born, Vermont 1786
Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846
From Jamestown, Grant Co.
Member, 1st State Assembly 1848
Died, 1859
- ELIHU BERNARD GOODSSELL**
Born, Sheldon, Vt., May 11, 1806
To Wisconsin 1834
Farmer, teacher, miner, merchant
County Commissioner, Iowa Co.
Chairman of board
Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846
From Iowa Co.
Served on committee on eminent domain and property of the state
Postmaster, Highland
Member, Wisconsin State Legislature 1865
- BENJAMIN GRANGER**
Born, Vermont 1818
Farmer
Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846
From Dodge Co.
Served on standing committee on bill of rights
Removed to Chicago later
- JAMES H. HALL**
Born, Vermont 1813
Farmer
Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846
From Racine Co.
Served on preamble committee
Died, Oct. 27, 1866
- LA FAYETTE HILL**
Born, Burlington, Vt., Aug. 28, 1812
To Wisconsin 1837
Member, Board of Supervisors of Dekorra (at that time Kentucky City)
Justice of Peace
Postmaster
Assessor
Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846
From Columbia Co.
Served on preamble committee
Died, 1853
- STEPHEN P. HOLLENBECK**
Born, Richmond, Vt., Mar. 28, 1801
Millwright
To Wisconsin 1834
Member, 2nd Const'l Conv. 1847
From Iowa Co.
Member, Wisconsin Assembly 1855
Held various local offices
- NATHANIEL FISHER HYER**
Born, Arlington, Vt., Mar. 2, 1807
To Wisconsin 1836
Surveyor
Probate judge in Milwaukee
Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846
From Dane Co.
Served on committee on internal improvements
Removed to South for health 1849

MILO JONES

Born, Richmond, Vt., Feb. 16, 1809

To Wisconsin 1835

Surveyor

In dairy business

Pioneer cheese manufacturer in
State of Wisconsin at Fort Atkin-
son 1839

Member, 2nd Const'l Conv. 1847

From Jefferson Co.

Served on committee on general
provisions

Postmaster at Fort Atkinson

Held numerous town and county
offices

JOSEPH KINNIE, JR.

Born, Mount Holly, Vt., Jan. 29,
1799

To Wisconsin 1838

Farmer

Justice of Peace at Aron, Wis., for
17 consecutive years

Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846

From Rock Co.

Member, Wisconsin Assembly 1851
Died, 1875

HOLLIS LATHAM

Born, Northfield, Vt.

To Wisconsin 1836

Farmer

Member, 2nd Const'l Conv. 1847

From Walworth Co.

Served on committee on execu-
tive, legislative and adminis-
trative provisions

Clerk of County Supervisors of
Walworth Co. 8 years

County Treasurer 3 years

Justice of Peace 16 years

County Supt. of the Poor 24 years

Trustee of Wis. Institute for Deaf
and Dumb 19 years

Member, Wis. Assembly 1862

FREDERICK S. LOVELL

Born, Rockingham, Vt., Nov. 1,
1815

To Wisconsin 1837

Lawyer

Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846

From Racine Co.

Served as chairman of committee
on executive, legislative and ad-
ministrative provisions

Member, 2nd Const'l Conv. 1847

From Racine Co.

Served as chairman of committee
on amendments

Member, Territorial Council 1847

Member, Wisconsin Assembly

1857-1858

Speaker *pro tem* 1857

Speaker 1858

One of Revisers of the Statutes
1857-1858

Officer in Civil War

Died, 1878

JOSEPH S. PIERCE

Born, Vermont 1797

Farmer

Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846

From Rock Co.

Served on committee on muni-
cipal corporations

Died, 1859

THEODORE PRENTISS

Born, Montpelier, Vt., Sept. 10,
1818

8th son of Samuel Prentiss, for-
mer Chief Justice Vt. Supreme

Court, U.S. Senator and U.S.

Dist. Judge

Student, Univ. of Vermont

Lawyer

To Wisconsin 1844

Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846

From Watertown

Served as chairman of committee
on act of Congress for admission
of state

Member, 2nd Const'l Conv. 1847

From Watertown

Chairman, committee on sched-
ule and other miscellaneous pro-
visions

Member, Wisconsin State Legisla-
ture 1861

Member, Board of regents of State
University 1861-

Thrice Mayor of Watertown

GEORGE SCAGEL

Born, Waterbury, Vt., Dec. 29,
1798

Justice of Peace, Waterbury, Vt.

Farmer

To Wisconsin 1846

Member, 2nd Const'l Conv. 1847
 From Waukesha Co.
 Served on committee on general provisions
 Died, 1850
SEWALL SMITH
 Born, Vermont 1802
 Farmer
 Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846
 From Walworth Co.
 Served on committee on banks and banking
EVANDER M. SOPER
 Born, Vermont 1810
 Mechanic
 Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846
 From Manitowoc Co.
 Served on committee on banks and banking
MOSES McCURE STRONG
 Born, Rutland, Vt., May 20, 1810
 Student at Middlebury College 3 years; at Dartmouth 1 year; graduate 1829

Lawyer
 Deputy surveyor general of Vermont 1833—
 To Wisconsin 1836
 U.S. Att'y for Wisconsin Territory 1838—1841
 Member, Wisconsin State Legislative Council 1841—1845
 Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846
 From Mineral Point
 Chairman of committee on suffrage
 Served as a member of the committee on constitution and organization of legislature
 President *pro tem*
 Member, Wisconsin Assembly 1850, 1856
 Speaker 1850
 First President, La Crosse and Milwaukee R.R.
 President, Mineral Point R.R.
 Author of a History of Wisconsin

The following were born outside of Vermont, but lived in the State of Vermont before going to Wisconsin:

CHARLES M. BAKER
 Born, Warren, N. Y.
 Studied at Middlebury College, Vt.
 Lawyer
 Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846
JOHN CRAWFORD
 Born, Royalston, Mass., Dec. 4, 1792; to Vermont 1793
 Lived in Chester, Vt., where both parents died (1793—1810)
 Removed to St. Lawrence Co., N. Y., 1810
 Commissioned Capt. N. Y. Infantry by DeWitt Clinton 1820; pro-

moted through all grades to Major General 1832
 Appointed Inspector of revenue 1834
 To Wisconsin 1836
 Commanded first lake boat to enter Milwaukee River 1837
 Member, Territorial Legislature 1845
 Member, 1st Const'l Conv. 1846
 From Milwaukee Co.
 Served on committee on realties
 Member, Wisconsin Assembly 1853
 Supervisor-at-large of Milwaukee Co. 1866

The following were connected with the Constitutional Convention, but not as elected delegates:

JOHN STARKWEATHER
 Born, Putney, Vt., Sept. 18, 1816
 To Wisconsin 1836
 Bridge builder for over 42 years
 Carried on foot the first mail from Milwaukee to Aztalan in 4½ days

Held contract for carrying this mail 1837—1839
 Sergeant-at-arms of 1st Const'l Conv. 1846
HORACE A. TENNEY
 Born, Grand Isle, Vt., Feb. 22, 1820

Editor and lawyer
 Publisher of *Lorain Republican* at
 Elyria, Ohio, 1842-1846
 Prosecuting att'y Lorain Co., Ohio,
 1843
 To Wisconsin 1846
 Reporter at 1st and 2nd Const'l
 Conv's.
 Territorial printer 1847-1848
 Trustee of Madison 1850
 President of Madison 6 years
 Publisher of *Wisconsin Argus* 1846-
 Assistant State Geologist 1852-
 Member, Wisconsin Assembly 1856

Member Board of Regents of State
 University 1857
 Comptroller of State Treasury 1858
 Paymaster U.S.A. 1862
 Mail Agent 1866
 In charge of Mich., Wis., Minn.
 and Dakota
 Sec'y of Railroad Commission 1874
 HENRY W. TENNEY
 Born, Grand Isle, Vt., Jan. 2, 1822
 Graduate, University of Vermont
 1845
 Lawyer
 Reporter at 2nd Const'l Conv. 1847

Wisconsin history is redolent with the story of many other Ver-
 monters who have gained name and fame in the Badger State and
 one not only national, but in some cases international honors, but
 this recital concerns only the Fathers of Wisconsin, those who
 laid the foundations for a great State which celebrates with just
 pride its hundredth anniversary. Vermont at least can take this
 opportunity of having given an assist to a sister state and the pride
 Wisconsin so justly feels in its own achievements can in part be
 shared by Vermont—to a greater extent, perhaps, than by any
 other state.

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Notes and Documents

I. THE SLEEPING SENTINEL: A POSTSCRIPT

By WALDO F. GLOVER

WHEN the Vermont Historical Society published *Abraham Lincoln and the Sleeping Sentinel of Vermont* in 1936, most reviewers were kind enough to rate the book as a thorough piece of work, agreeing substantially with the statement in the *New York Times* review: "His little book is a very comprehensive and capable treatment of the controversy. Unless and until new matter is discovered concerning the question, Mr. Glover's brochure deserves to be considered the final word upon it."¹

How futile to think that anybody will ever say the "final word" on Abraham Lincoln, or even on such an insignificant incident in his public career as the pardon of William Scott of Groton, Vermont, known to the world as the "Sleeping Sentinel"! The ink had hardly dried on the first and only edition of my book when I received a letter from Mr. Harold G. Rugg of the Dartmouth College Library, stating that there was to be an auction sale at the American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, at which three "Sleeping Sentinel" items were coming up for sale: a manuscript of the poem, *The Sleeping Sentinel*, by Francis De Haes Janvier; an autograph letter to Mr. Janvier from the Rev. Moses P. Parmelee, chaplain of the Third Vermont Regiment; and an autograph letter to Mr. Janvier from Serg. Henry G. Miller, also of the Third Vermont. Mr. Rugg enclosed transcripts of the two letters, and wished to know if I had access to this material in the preparation of my book. My reply in substance was that I had never seen these items and knew not of their existence, but thought it would be advisable for the Vermont Historical Society to purchase them, especially the two letters, to be used in case a second edition of the book was contemplated; or to be preserved as source material for any writer who might, in the future, undertake a more ambitious or definitive work. Accordingly, the two

letters were purchased. The original manuscript of the poem was not, as the Society already had a good edition in pamphlet form, autographed and presented by Mrs. Janvier, widow of the poet.

During the eleven years that have elapsed since the acquisition of these letters I have purposely let the matter rest, partly to await the possible demand for a second edition of the book, and partly to await the opening of President Lincoln's private papers last summer, in which I thought that possibly other new evidence might be disclosed. As the collectors of Lincolniana were so well supplied by the first edition that no second edition is in sight, and as I have been informed that an examination of the Lincoln papers recently made public offers no light on the subject, it seems to be an opportune time now, first, to correct known errors in my book; secondly, to clarify my position on the Chittenden phase of the subject, as well as on other minor phases, especially in the light of valuable and quite conclusive evidence offered in the Parmelee letter; and, thirdly, to preserve here a few observations which, although relatively unimportant, may be of interest, or serve as clues for any future historian contemplating a more ambitious treatment of the subject.

The first letter here given is by the Rev. Moses P. Parmelee, chaplain of the Third Vermont Regiment at the time of the trial, condemnation, and pardon of William Scott. It seems that Mr. Janvier, before writing his poem, wanted to have at hand all the historical facts, and appealed to the chaplain as the person most likely to furnish those facts. That he made little or no use of the chaplain's help is evident from a perusal of the poem. Perhaps Mr. Janvier wanted those historical data as a guide post to remind him, not how near he was keeping to the truth, but how far he was straying from the truth! Be that as it may, the letter is as follows:

Underhill, Vt., May 14, 1862

Mr. Francis De Haes Janvier

Dear Sir:-

Your favor of the 3rd inst. making inquiries respecting the late William Scott of Co. K 3d Vt. Regt. is received.

I regret that I am unable to answer fully and explicitly all your inquiries. I little thought, while it was in my power to collect all these particulars, how general and lasting an interest would attach to a name so humble as that of William

Scott. I shall therefore be obliged to give wholly from memory a brief sketch of the facts and incidents of which I was personally cognizant connected with the condemnation and pardon of the late Wm Scott. I would suggest that you correspond with my successor Rev. D. A. Mack now with the Regt. He will be able to give you all the particulars you may desire both respecting his early history as well as those connected with his untimely end.

My first knowledge of Scott's trial and condemnation was on the morning of the 7th Sept. last. Our regiment had a few days previously advanced across the Potomac into Virginia — leaving, however, all the tents and camp furniture on this side the river. I was sitting in my tent on Saturday morning, the 7th Sept., when news came from the regiment on the opposite shore that at Dress Parade of the previous evening, sentence of death was pronounced upon one of our regiment who had been tried and found guilty of sleeping at his post on picket duty. You may well imagine I was exceedingly startled at so unexpected an announcement as this. I had indeed been aware of the progress of a Court Martial a few days previous — but did not suspect its deliberations involved so grave a matter as the life of one of our men. I began to upbraid myself for not knowing something of the case before. But as the time was short — the execution being appointed on the following Monday — I resolved to cease my regrets and make atonement by doing my utmost to save the boy's life.

I crossed the river revolving in my mind the best means of securing Scott's pardon. Learning that a petition was in circulation by Lieut. A. T. Smith, then commanding Co. K, I sought him out for the purpose of ascertaining the nature of the petition and its likelihood of success. The petition I found, was addressed to Gen. Smith, commanding the Division. I remarked to Lieut. Smith that the President alone could pardon and therefore feared the success of that petition and proposed that another petition addressed to the President be substituted for it. But on further consultation it was agreed to push through the petition already in circulation and start another should that fail.

I then hastened to visit Scott. I found him in an old log hovel which, at that time, chanced to be a guard house, in the rear of the building occupied as Division headquarters. Should you have any curiosity to visit the place, you will find it about a mile from "Chain Bridge" on the Searburg "Pike" just under the guns of Fort Marcy.

The first floor of the guard house was occupied by many put in for petty offences. The attic, which was reached by rising the crevices between the logs as steps, was given up to Scott. It was a cheerless place — there were windows once but they were now gone — there was no furniture. A little straw had been thrown into one corner where having spread his blanket, Scott lay, with hand cuffs on his wrists — the most thoroughly heart broken man I ever saw. At first, he seemed disinclined to engage in conversation but soon he began to express himself more freely. Two things weighed heavily on his mind — he was afraid he was not prepared to die and he could not bear the thought of dying in such a manner. He felt that he could die by the bullets of the enemy — but to die a culprit was too crushing to think of. He acknowledged his guilt — the gravity of the offence — the justice of his sentence. He pleaded nothing in extenuation of his guilt. On inquiry, I learned that only one night of rest had intervened between a night in which he acted as camp guard and the night in which he was found asleep — and during that night he was unwell so that his rest was much broken. During this interview I learned also that he had parents and brothers and sisters living who at that moment were totally unconscious of the fearful position he was occupying. I endeavored to divert his attention from his sad earthly prospect and to fix it upon the realities of another world which seemed so near to him.

At the same time I encouraged him not to despair of pardon. I told him how his officers and fellow soldiers were exerting themselves in his behalf and pledged him my utmost exertions to secure his pardon.

He seemed more tranquil and gave himself more fully than before to prayer and reading of the scripture. Having committed him to the merciful protection of our Heavenly Father I returned to my tent to await the fate of the petition.

Sunday came and I could learn nothing of it except that it had been forwarded to Washington. Evening drew on and I could get no news of the petition. I began seriously to fear it had never reached the President and would not until poor Scott was beyond the reach of pardons.

It was now too late to circulate another petition. I therefore resolved to hasten with all possible speed to Washington and make a personal appeal for executive clemency.

I had scarcely entered the President's House when Dr. John C. Smith came in accompanied by a friend on the same errand with myself. I was surprised and gratified at this evidence of popular sympathy in behalf of Scott. I was not aware that the case had excited the slightest public notice outside the camps.

We were unable to gain a personal interview with the President, but were assured that the case was receiving his careful consideration and a pardon would doubtless be granted. Dr. Smith was not content to leave, however, until he had embodied our earnest petition in writing and laid it before the President.

I felt quite confident of the boy's pardon, but to make myself doubly sure, I accepted the generous invitation to spend the night at his house, with the intention of calling again at the President's House in the morning to learn with certainty the fate of our condemned soldier.

In the morning I was received by the President's private Secretary who told me that Scott was pardoned. I asked him particularly if there was no mistake about the pardon reaching camp in season to arrest the execution. He said he was sure it was forwarded in season, for the anxiety of the President was so great on this my (?) point that he went to Gen. McClellan's headquarters after 10 o'clock on the previous evening to satisfy himself that the pardon had been duly forwarded. The Secretary said he could assert this positively as he accompanied the President at the time. (This I suppose to be the ground of the erroneous statement that the President visited the camp to see that the pardon had been forwarded.)

I returned to the camp to meet Scott, released and perfectly happy. He went about his duties as if he was deter-

mined to prove himself worthy the pardon he was granted. He was always a faithful soldier, but after his pardon he was doubly so.

Scott was about twenty years of age unmarried — muscular in appearance though not very prepossessing. His exterior was plain, but he had a warm and honest heart. He never failed of his duty when it lay in his power — to do it. He slept at his post from sheer exhaustion & not because he lacked vigilance.

I ought, perhaps, to have said that Scott was not aware of his pardon until he was led out, to what he supposed to be his execution. Full preparation had been made for the execution — the men detailed to fire the guns — the regiment drawn up to witness the scene, — when instead of the execution his pardon was read — the manacles (?) were knocked from his wrists and he was again a free man.

If the above is of any service to you, it is placed fully at your disposal

Yours very truly

M. P. Parmelee, Late Chaplain 3d Vt. Regt.

The second letter was written by Henry C. Miller of Ryegate, the town adjoining Groton on the east. Mr. Miller was from one of Ryegate's old and respected families, and had enlisted as a private in Company C of the Third Vermont Regiment. Prior to the date of this letter he had been promoted to corporal and to sergeant. Subsequently he was promoted to second, and finally to first lieutenant. He died June 4, 1864 of wounds received at Cold Harbor on the previous day.

Mr. Janvier evidently had followed Mr. Parmelee's suggestion, and had written to the Rev. D. A. Mack, Mr. Parmelee's successor, who was chaplain of the regiment at the time of Scott's death, whereupon Mr. Mack, being ill at the time, and doubtless knowing little or nothing of the facts, handed the letter to Sergeant Miller who replied as follows:

*Camp Near Harrisons landing Va
Aug 8th 1862*

Mr Francis De Haes Janvier

Dear Sir

The Rev Mr Mack chaplain of our (3rd Vt Reg) yesterday handed me a letter from you of July 28th also a copy of yrs

of June 4th Inquiring for particulars regarding Wm Scott late of Co 8 (P) of this Reg — Rev Mr Mack is at present quite ill & wished me to undertake to give you the information that you desire He regretted very much that he could not comply with your desire — In reply to your enquiries I would say — Wm Scott was born in Groton Vt in 1840 & was therefore 22 years old — His parents are both alive — His fathers name is Thomas his Mothers Polly — their ages respectively 48 & 43 years — His Fathers trade is that of farming as was also that of Wm till the date of enlistment Wm always worked at home till about one year before enlisting — His father has always had his wages — His father is in very reduced circumstances

Wms Education was very limited He was shot about 4 ½ P. M. April 16th 1862. at Warwick creek — skirmish Two Cs. of the 3d were ordered to cross the creek & charge the enemies works on the opposite shore. Two Cos. more were ordered to support them

. . The creek was crossed & the enemy were drove from their rifle pits, two Regs of them When they saw how few there were of our brave boys they came back reinforced by two more Regs & after holding the redoubt & Rifle pits for 35 minutes our boys had to fall back across the creek

Then was the time that Scott was killed The water had increased (by means of the enemy opening a flood gate above) to the depth of 6 feet in some places — (This accounts for so few being killed) & the boys most all had to swim coming back

Scott lived till 4 ½ A. M. the 17th He said “tell the boys to avenge my death.” He wished to be left on the field —

There sir you have nearly all the particulars that I know concerning Scott.

I can vouch for what I have told you as I am from an adjoining town & was in the same engagement

Respectfully yrs

Sergt Henry C. Miller Co. C. 3d Reg Vt Vols

To Francis De Haes Janvier, Washington Dc

P. S. Wm left 6 brothers & one sister one bro. in the 4th Reg Vt Vols.

Of the two letters here reproduced, the more important, of course, is that by the Rev. Moses P. Parmelee. Although Mr. Parmelee wrote from his memory of events more than eight months after they transpired, his story seems so dispassionate, so matter-of-fact, that he inspires one with confidence. I regard his letter as a very reliable document. If I had seen it six months earlier, my book would have read somewhat differently in several places. It would not have changed my main thesis an iota, for it corroborates my contention that President Lincoln, and not the military authorities, were responsible for Scott's pardon; but it would have enabled me to have avoided an error or two, and to have taken a more positive stand on other phases of the subject.

In the light of the Parmelee letter, therefore, let me, first of all, correct the statement in *Abraham Lincoln and the Sleeping Sentinel* to the effect that the chaplain prepared and circulated the petition for Scott's pardon.¹ This idea was promulgated by the letter writers of the period, and was confirmed by the testimony of Scott's comrades who were living at the time of the newspaper controversy in 1926. Colonel Benedict also took the same position in *Vermont in the Civil War*. When I wrote my book I assumed that these witnesses were correct. Moreover a hasty glance at the handwriting of the petition² confirmed my opinion. Now, in the light of disclosed facts, a more careful examination leads me to believe that the petition was written by Captain Corbin of Company C.

My second observation is more of a clarification than a correction. It pertains, as I have stated, to the part played by the Hon. Lucius E. Chittenden in securing Scott's pardon, and to the authenticity of his long story.³

For years prior to 1926 I had assumed, as I think most people had, that the Chittenden story, although differing considerably from other versions, Benedict's, for example, was essentially true. With a desire to give the story of Scott a more local setting, due no doubt to a justifiable home-town interest, I had even published, a year earlier, a little magazine article⁴ in which I had given more of the Groton background than had been published

1. *Abraham Lincoln and the Sleeping Sentinel*, p. 21.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 93

3. Chittenden: *Recollections of Pres. Lincoln and His Administration*, pp. 265-283.

4. *The Vermonter*, Vol. 30, No. 2.

up to that time. Then I had proceeded with Scott's condemnation, pardon, and death, basing this part of my story on Chittenden, shamelessly embellishing the story already superbly embellished by Chittenden. I had never heard of Colonel Benedict's Loyal Legion Address of 1893⁵ in which he "corrected" his earlier position in *Vermont in the Civil War*, and incidently condemned Chittenden's story. My first knowledge that the popular versions of the Scott incident were discredited came in the spring of 1926 in a letter from Mr. Herbert W. Denio, then Librarian of the Vermont Historical Society, who called my attention to what he regarded as an erroneous treatment of the subject in Dr. William E. Barton's *Life of Abraham Lincoln* then just off the press.

Continued study of the subject through the period of the newspaper controversy which followed, and the time spent in the preparation of my book, convinced me that much of Chittenden's story is apocryphal, especially that part telling of President Lincoln's visit with Scott at the camp prison. Either the soldier who is alleged to have given Chittenden this information completely fooled him, or Chittenden, for some reason best known to himself, deliberately "spun a yarn" to show what he thought Lincoln might have said or done in a purely hypothetical case. I hardly think, as I stated in my book, that Chittenden had a lapse of memory, and confused the Scott case with some other incident, as Colonel Benedict suggested that he might have done. My chief reason for being more lenient with Chittenden than I really then thought he deserved was because of the unquestioned sincerity and earnestness of his daughter, Mrs. Bessie Chittenden Richards in the defense of her father. With all her loyalty, however, she readily conceded: "Of course my father colored his narrative with his imagination."

But I had no doubt, and still have none, that the first part of Chittenden's narrative is substantially true, namely, that comrades of Scott went to Chittenden as a fellow Vermonter, and as an influential man in the administration, and solicited his aid in behalf of the condemned soldier, and that Chittenden accompanied them to President Lincoln. Although I no longer hold to the belief that the President's will to pardon was due chiefly to Chittenden's intercession, I still do think that the influence of Chittenden carried considerable weight. Mr. Parmelee's letter quoted

5. Benedict: *The Element of Romance in Military History*.

above would lead us to believe that many people were active in Scott's behalf on that Sunday before the proposed execution, and that the White House was besieged with visitors on that urgent errand. Even Doctor Barton belatedly admitted: "Probably Chittenden and others had mentioned it to him."⁶

In this connection I wish to make clear my belief that President Lincoln did *not* visit the camp either on Sunday, Sept. 8, 1861, to talk with Scott; or on Monday, Sept. 9, to rush between the firing squad and the victim. The writer of the *Boston Herald* editorial review⁷ on the book misunderstood me, stating, "Mr. Glover thinks Lincoln did visit the camp to talk with Scott the day before." I certainly took no such position. Rather, I presented, or tried to, all the arguments pro and con, and left the reader to decide as he would, withholding a definite statement of opinion, pending the possible disclosure of new evidence.⁸ The wanted evidence soon came in the Parmelee letter herewith presented. Indeed the evidence is now conclusive that Mr. Lincoln did *not* visit the camp in Scott's behalf, and that the idea had its inception in the mind of someone who, having heard of Mr. Lincoln's call on General McClellan at his headquarters in Washington to request Scott's pardon, jumped to the conclusion that the President actually went to the camp near Chain Bridge.

One discrepancy is seen between Mr. Parmelee's letter which states that Mr. Lincoln visited General McClellan on the *evening* of Sunday, Sept. 8, and General McClellan's letter to his wife which states that the Lincoln visit was on the *morning* of that day.⁹ On this point the odds are in General McClellan's favor; for his statement was written that very day, while Mr. Parmelee's statement was made from memory eight months later. The alternative position is that the President may have called on General McClellan *twice*: first, on the *morning* of Sept. 8, to order Scott's pardon; and again, on the late *evening* of the same day, to see if General McClellan intended to obey the order. Shall we be obliged to unearth another bit of evidence to determine the truth?

A further clarification is made by Mr. Parmelee's letter as to whether or not the condemned soldier had been on guard duty for two nights in succession prior to his default. The general con-

6. *New York Times*, Oct. 3, 1926.

7. June 13, 1936.

8. *Abraham Lincoln and the Sleeping Sentinel*, p. 108.

sensus of opinion was that he had, although no evidence to that effect was offered in defense at the court martial. Mr. Parmelee, to be sure, writes from memory. His story seems so plausible, however, that one is quite willing to believe that "only one night of rest had intervened between a night in which he acted as camp guard and the night in which he was found asleep—and during that night he was unwell so that his rest was much broken." That sounds all right; and inasmuch as we shall never know of a certainty, I, for one, am willing to accept the Parmelee story.

Now that I have given what is doubtless my final word on the controversial points of the "Sleeping Sentinel" incident, let me turn to a few observations which may contain clues worth preserving.

At about the time I received Mr. Rugg's communication concerning the Parmelee and the Miller letters, I also learned through Miss Agnes Lawson, then librarian of the Vermont Historical Society, that Miss Jessie M. Sabin of Montpelier knew of another letter bearing on this subject—a *real Lincoln letter!*

It seems that Miss Sabin had spent considerable time in Pasadena, California, during which time she had become acquainted with Mrs. Louisa Simes Janvier, widow of the poet. It was because of the acquaintance thus formed that Mrs. Janvier, in June, 1922, presented to the Colonial Dames of Vermont the copy of Janvier's *Sleeping Sentinel* now in the library of the Vermont Historical Society. At the time this presentation was made, Mrs. Janvier told Miss Sabin of the letter President Lincoln wrote to Mr. Janvier commending him for his poem—the poem which, by the way, Mr. Lincoln had twice heard as it was recited by Mr. James E. Murdoch, the noted elocutionist of the Civil War period.

In reply to my request for more information on this Lincoln letter, Miss Sabin wrote in part at follows:

"Unfortunately, I can't give you any very definite information regarding the contents or the present ownership of the Lincoln letter I mentioned to Miss Lawson.

"As she had told me that she had a letter from President Lincoln to Mr. Janvier regarding the poem, I told her that our Historical Society would treasure it,—also gave her a photo of the building to show that the collections were well housed. It was a case where it was not advisable to be urgent regarding this letter as a gift or a sale.

9. *McClellan's Own Story*, p. 91.

"I presume she had in mind giving it to some museum in Philadelphia, their home city.

"When I left Pasadena several years ago Mrs. Janvier, although elderly, was still motoring about in pursuit of her varied interests.

"Later on I may be able to ascertain whether she is still living."

As I did not hear from Miss Sabin again, the matter was dropped. Now, after eleven years, an attempt is being made to locate this Lincoln letter. Let us hope that it will be successful.

About the year 1925 I had a long talk with the late Frank M. Page, for many years town clerk of Groton. Judge Page was born and reared in the neighborhood of the Scotts in West Groton, and had been in school with William Scott. He told me much about the family, and then broke out with some interesting but aggravating information.

He said that some years earlier, when he was town clerk, he received a letter from a man who claimed he had in his possession a cane once owned by Abraham Lincoln. It was presented, said the writer, by comrades of William Scott who wished to express to Mr. Lincoln their gratitude for his act of mercy in saving the life of their comrade. Judge Page thought there was an inscription on the cane to that effect. The writer of the letter wanted to know if the town of Groton, or anybody there would be interested to have the cane.

"What did you write in response to this inquiry?" I asked.

"Oh I wrote that nobody here would be interested," he replied.

Judge Page could not remember the name of the man, or the town or state from which the letter was sent, or whether the cane was offered as a gift or a sale.

It is safe to wager that neither the Vermont Historical Society nor the Groton Library and Historical Association would refuse the gift of that cane were it offered today.

Who is the present owner of Mr. Lincoln's "Sleeping Sentinel" cane?

The following observation probably has no bearing on the controversial aspect of the "Sleeping Sentinel" question, but it may be of interest to someone. At any rate it was of interest to the late Mr. Charles E. Tuttle, noted bookseller of Rutland, who told me about it, and thought I might make use of it in the preparation of my book.

It seems that a portion of the papers and correspondence of Senator Justin S. Morrill came into the possession of Mr. Tuttle who in turn sold the lot to a collector. Among the letters was one addressed to Senator Morrill from Thomas Scott, father of William. Mr. Tuttle, relying wholly on memory, thought that the letter was written to solicit a pension for a son who had seen service in the war, and that it mentioned the fact that the writer was father of the "Sleeping Sentinel," and had lost several sons in the war. At Mr. Tuttle's suggestion I made an immediate but futile attempt to ascertain whether the letter could be located, and if so, its contents. In the preparation of this paper another attempt was made with the same result.

And now someone may very properly ask, Why so much ado over this "Sleeping Sentinel" incident? Hasn't it been publicized far more than its historical importance would justify? To be sure it has. To be sure the fate of America was not measurably affected by Scott's pardon, nor would it have been if he had been executed. The simple truth is that the "Sleeping Sentinel" incident has become one of the outstanding pieces of folklore pertaining to Abraham Lincoln, around whose memory has accumulated a greater volume of folklore than that of any other American president.

On that day in the year 1925 when Dr. William E. Barton brought out his *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, and stated therein, "There is no evidence that Lincoln ever knew of the case (Scott's), though he may have done so,"—on that day the fine art of historical "debunking" reached its high-water mark. Doctor Barton thought he had buried the "legend" for all time. Since that day, however a monument of imperishable granite has been erected to Scott on the site of his old home in West Groton; the General Assembly of Vermont has named a principal highway for him; books and articles have been written; the radio has sent his story in one or another version to the ends of the earth. Even while these words are being written Mr. Alton Hall Blackington, distinguished lecturer and spinner of "Yankee Yarns," has added the "Sleeping Sentinel" story to his radio repertoire rich in New England history and folklore.

Were one to compile a bibliography, noting every instance one or another version of this story has been told (which of course is impossible), the list would be a long one. And that list is growing year by year.

II. NOTES FOR A HISTORY OF HARTLAND

By HOWLAND F. ATWOOD

Strange as it may seem, there has never been a history of the Town of Hartland published. At the present time the written history of Hartland is confined to a few pamphlets and articles in the Vermonter magazine. Judge Hampden Cutts, who resided in town about 75 years ago, wrote a brief history including a sketch of the Spooner family. But this valuable manuscript was burned before going to press. The history of Hartland is very interesting—in fact far more interesting than some of the towns which are fortunate enough to have theirs permanently recorded in a book. Unlike Hartford, Vermont, which has a twenty year period in the early nineteenth century with scarcely any records of any sort, the records of Hartland are very complete, going back to the first town meeting held March 11, 1767. There are also birth and death records going back at least to 1790, and such things as the original charter and a map of town showing the original divisions of lots are carefully preserved. In 1820 Hartland ranked second in wealth and fourth in population of all the Vermont towns, with its greatest prosperity about 1820-25.¹

Hartland, like many other Vermont towns, is largely made up of glacier-worn hills, the highest, Garvin Hill, having an altitude of 1802 feet. From these watersheds streams flow in all directions, affording many excellent mill sites. The most important source of water power is Sumner's Falls. It was surveyed by engineers some years ago, and it is possible that a power dam similiar to the one at Barnet may be built below there some time, as the power company owns or has control of all water power on the upper part of the Connecticut River.

The rocks throughout the center of the township, also extending North and South, consist largely of gneiss, while in the extreme western part rocks consisting of calciferous mica schist are prevalent. The rocks near the Connecticut River are also mostly calciferous schist except for small beds of clay, slate, and talcose schist in the northeastern corner. While there is quite a variety of minerals, none of any great importance except for small amounts of

¹These notes are published as drawn up by the author. His extensive collection of biographical, genealogical and historical material relating to Hartland are now in The Vermont Historical Society. *Editor.*

gold, silver, and lead, have ever been found. In a gravel pit near Hartland village, the different strata is very obvious. There are several layers of gravel and pebbles, each varying somewhat in coarseness, which reveal the fact that the deposits were brought there by huge river currents of varying speeds. Pebbles of granite identical to the granite in Bethel and of hornblend schist identical to that of Hanover, help to determine the distance the components of the layers were brought.

There has been much discussion as to whether the Indians ever really lived in Hartland, other than to camp on their way to and from Deerfield, Massachusetts. In my research I have come across several things which indicate that Hartland was once the home of the Indians. A favourite camping-out place was at Sumner's Falls (or the Waterquechee Falls) where they liked to listen to the roar of the water and the whistling of the wind through the pines. They often held councils and gave fire signals by the river, believing that the Great Spirit "hung out" on the mountain across the river in New Hampshire. There is said to be an Indian burying ground at the foot of the mountain (Home Mt.) where the early settlers used to come to pick up arrowheads. The first white men believed to have come through the territory were a group of Frenchmen who came up through the state with the Indians in 1704. Up in the hills near North Hartland there have been many arrowheads found, a well-worn stone, obviously used for grinding grain, and many other relics. My mother once found a large hammer-shaped stone in a pasture of the south-western part of town. Up near the head, the handle is worn so as to fit the hand perfectly. Various uses have been suggested, but it is quite probable that it was used for pounding furs in the process of making them soft for clothing purposes, as the head is much too blunt for cutting. It is also quite likely that the end of the handle which tapers and flattens out was used for scraping furs. In that same vicinity a large stone club and arrowheads have been found. Following the French and Indian War many Indian families settled in Hartland, and much later than the time when arrowheads were used a few Indian families resided in secluded parts and would occasionally come out to sell baskets they had woven from willow twigs. A good many years ago about a dozen Indians dressed in buckskin came into a local resident's kitchen. On asking if they might stay over night they laid themselves on the floor—feet to the fireplace. The master of

the house, being cautious, put an axe next to his bedroom door before he retired. On one farm in Hartland is a strong stone-walled cellar which was probably used as protection from the Indians.

Timothy Lull, supposed to be the first settler above Charlestown, N. H. (No. 4), came to Hartland with his family and goods in May 1763 by means of a crude log canoe. He stopped at the mouth of a brook, later to bear his name, and broke a bottle, said by one author to have contained something considerably stronger than Connecticut River water. He had passed through a year before and planned to return some day with his family to set up his home there. The following year in May, when he returned, he went up the Lull Brook and settled in a log cabin, which stood on what is now a meadow just outside Hartland Village. He died at 81, leaving 103 descendants and a considerable amount of property. There are very few, if any, descendants of Timothy Lull now residing in town.

Oliver Willard, an early settler at North Hartland, is claimed by some to be the first settler (chiefly by the Willard family). However, there are a few significant facts that seem to prove that Oliver Willard was living in town two or three years before Timmy came. In February 1763 a meeting of the Proprietors of the town of Hertford (Hartland) was held at the home of Oliver Willard. The first meeting of the Proprietors was held in August 1761 and in the warning for the 1763 meeting, there is slight implication that there had been previous meetings. The house of Oliver Willard was the oldest house in town and fell down in 1842, a very loose and decayed structure, having no windows or doors remaining. Another record tells of the birth of a son to Oliver Willard's wife in Hartland about 1759. No one will probably ever know for sure who was the first settler. According to the warning of the Proprietor's meeting there were at least four men living in town in February 1763 and on the gravestone of Thomas Park Rood is a statement saying that he settled in Hartland in 1762. Perhaps Timothy Lull was the first settler in the southern part of the town. At least it is known that soon after his settlement several other families also came there to live. Colonel Oliver Willard was a noted man, holding several prominent town offices and was also a statesman, court judge, lawyer, and a soldier. He was at Fort Dummer several years, first coming there about 1748, having taken command in his brother Josiah's place. His father, Josiah, had also held

the same position. Unlike many commanders under George III, Oliver's sympathies were with the American people, as he commanded the "Home Guards" at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, going on several Indian raids, notably the famous burning of Royalton in October 1780. He also had a great deal to do with the various charters which were at different times granted to the town. Governor Cadwallader granted the New York charter of July 25, 1766 to Oliver and his twenty-five associates. Colonel Willard was in great favor with New York, and this was probably the reason why there was so little trouble about the "New York Claims."

The first charter was granted by King Charles I of England in 1622 to Captain John Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges. This territory under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts of which Hartland was a part was given the name of Laconia, and about a hundred and fifty years later, this section in Vermont, as mentioned in the Revolutionary War records, was called Cumberland County. Sir Ferdinando, however, had dreams of building up and being at the head of a great kingdom, containing both Puritan dissenters and Cavaliers. In 1629 this territory was referred to as "New Hampshire," which title lasted until about 1749 when at the time of the dispute between New York and New Hampshire it became known as the "New Hampshire Grants," and "New York Claims."

July 10, 1761, the first charter for the town of Hartland was granted (in the name of Hertford the original name of the town) by Governor Benning Wentworth, who reserved a lot in the northeast corner for himself. The charter provided for a meeting of the "Proprietors" to be held in August 1761, and regular meetings were to be held on the second Tuesday in March.

This meeting of the "Proprietors" might be called the first town meeting but the one usually referred to was held in 1767. Several interesting provisions were drawn up at the early meeting in Hartland, then a wilderness. Every grantee, 65 in number, was to cultivate 5 acres out of every 50 for 5 years. All pine trees suitable for masts of the royal ships were to be marked and saved—none to be cut without special permission. One of these trees still stands at Pine Acres, a farm owned by Mr. Daniel C. Webster. At the centre of town, a tract of land was to be marked out for town lots, 1 acre to each grantee. The rent per year was to be one ear of corn paid each year at Christmas time for ten years if demanded. After ten years, one shilling was to be paid for every hundred acres

owned, settled, or possessed. When the population had increased to fifty families, there would be two fairs annually and a market at least once a week. Whether all these provisions were carried out is not positively certain.

The first town meeting was held March 11, 1767, very likely at the home of Oliver Willard, a very prominent man in town affairs. Early town meetings were seldom held at one definite place but around at different homes, at the churches, hotels, and later at the arsenal at Hartland Four Corners. The following is a report of the meeting held in 1769, in the exact spelling and form as in the record book:

ye 14 of March 1769

Being afsembled on the day appointed by the by the pattent to hold the annual town meeting for the township of Hertford the meeting being opened and proceeded

1 ft voted and chofe	Olr. Willard Efqs.	Moderator
2 voted and chofe	Olr. Willard Efqs.	Clerk
3 voted and chofe	Olr. Willard Efqs.	fupervifor
4 thly voted and chofe	Captn Zadok Wright Enfign John Laton and Matthew Ruft	Afsefsors
5 thly voted and chofe	Timothy Lull	Treafurer
6 voted and chofe	Afa Taylor	Collector
7 voted and chofe	Olr. Willard Zadok Wright John Laiton	overfeers of the Highways
8 voted and chofe	Zadok Wright Nathan Smith	overfeers of the poor
9 thly voted and chofe	Zadok Wright Timothy Lull Matthew Ruft Joel Mathew	conftables
10 voted and chofe	Asa Taylor Thom Park Rood	fense vewers
11 ly voted and chofe	Joseph Call Olr Willard Junt	field drivers

12 ly voted and chofe	Olr Willard	Commifomers
	Zadok Wright	to Lay out
	John Laiton	highway
13 ly voted to raife forty Dollars in grain, and meet to defray town charges, then voted to difmis this meeting	Olr Willard	moderator

The town was given the name of Hartland by an act of legislature, June 15, 1782. It seems that the legislature had difficulty in deciding what name to give the town. Saturday afternoon Hertford changed to Waterford, remained Waterford over Sunday and on Monday due to the motion of Paul Spooner, it was changed to Hartland.

MILITARY HISTORY

Hartland was well represented in the four main wars in which the United States has participated, namely the Revolution, War of 1812, Civil War, and the World War.

Not much is known of military preparations for the Revolution, except that the local "Minute Men" trained in a meadow at the center of town near the old "Union Meeting House."

There are many graves of the Revolutionary War Veterans in the older cemeteries. Most of them are marked by slabs of inscribed slate, while others have only a rough stone with no inscription, so the locations of a few soldiers' graves are not definitely known.

The following are a few interesting anecdotes gleaned from various sources:

Colonel Joseph Marsh had charge of the Cumberland County Regiment and Timothy Lull, the first settler, was captain of one of these regiments.

Sometime in the summer of 1775, a Captain Grant came to Hartland to find recruits for Seth Warner's regiment and succeeded in getting five to enlist with him.

At least one or two men served at Bunker Hill. One of them Mr. Moses Webster, had the interesting experience of being stationed at a powderhouse, from which the powder had previously been removed elsewhere, as a blind to the British. He also went with the "Minute Men" to Royalton, Vermont at the time of the Indian raid. He lived to be a very old man, so that his great-grandson,

Mr. John Webster, who died about four years ago, was able to remember him.

Other Hartland soldiers were with Washington's army when it entered New York City following the evacuation of the place by the British, and some were with Arnold at the burning of the "New London." One old soldier had the very appropriate name of Phinehas Killam.

Many years later, an old soldier returning home from the village after securing his pension, dropped dead in the road within a short distance of his house.

It seems very appropriate to mention Lafayette's visit here, than later on in this sketch, because of his actions during the war. In 1825 Lafayette, whose valuable assistance helped the Americans so much in the Revolutionary War, passed through Hartland with his son on his way to Woodstock in a victoria drawn by six white horses (this victoria is now owned by Mrs. Claire Hatch present owner of the Sumner-Stelle place). They were attended by an escort commanded by Colonel Stimson of Norwich. Adjutant George Wetherby of Hartland, the "Hartland Militia Company", and several Hartland Revolutionary soldiers made up the remainder of this group.

I was unable to find the total number of soldiers from Hartland who fought in the Revolutionary War, but it seems that over 200 enlisted in the war with England, 1812-1815. Even in 1809 preparations were being made, for in that year it was voted to build a powder magazine, to house the lead as well as the powder, and also a building in which to keep the rest of Hartland's military equipment. A list of equipment required includes guns and everything else having to do with them, such as bayonets, bayonet belts, cartridge boxes, priming wires, brushes, and extra flints. There were quite a number of musicians, including drummers, fifers, cornetists, etc., and all the ranks of officers—in fact everything that goes with an army. They had no definite training quarters, but trained, very often, in suitable places in all parts of the town, thus becoming familiar with the lay of the land and also came to know each other. The uniforms were of bright scarlet cloth and I understand that at least one or two of them still exist.

Two hundred and twelve men went to the Civil War from Hartland, but there are no living survivors of this group (in Hartland at least).

The old hall at Four Corners, now owned by the Ladies Aid, and formerly the town hall, was used as an arsenal, where equipment and uniforms were kept and where the soldiers drilled on rainy days.

There was much suffering on the part of the soldiers, many of them being imprisoned for long periods. The effects of this can be realized by the fact that one young man, who weighed 190 pounds when he left for the war, weighed but a scant 90 pounds on his return.

In September 1930, a monument was set up in Hartland Village on a newly graded common, dedicated to the memory of the soldiers of the three main wars in which the United States has participated.

CHURCHES

The first church in Hartland,² known as the old "Union Meeting House" was built around 1779 at the Center town. This was a large building, unpainted, and weather-stained a dark grey or black. It had a double row of windows, and a small belfry surmounted by a spire, but no bell. Galleries were located on three sides of the interior and on the remaining side was the high pulpit and sounding board. The church was probably similar to the old "Rockingham Meeting House". Two tithing men occupied a pew before the pulpit, which faced the congregation. Outside near the church were stocks, likewise for keeping good order. There were no stoves in the building, so the ladies endeavored to keep warm by means of heated bricks and small footstoves. During the recess at noon the congregation warmed themselves and ate their luncheon at the "Sabbath Day House" near the church. Here preached the first settled minister, Daniel Breck, and here the early religious societies were organized—first the Catholic Benevolent Society, and later the Universalist Benevolent Society in 1802. The Universalists used this building for about twenty years, when in 1822 it was torn down and the old "Brick Meeting House" built near Hartland Four Corners in 1822 became the new home of the Universalist Society.

The new church was a rectangular affair, of a mixed English and Colonial style. It too, had double windows, and the steeple was similar to that of the Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia. Eight

² (Descriptions of churches from Miss Darling's sketches, but revised somewhat.)

pillars composed the bell enclosure and on top of these rested an octagonal canopy, surmounted by a spire and weathervane. The weathervane was of an original and ingenious design. They had no other design and so asked a man to lie down upon a plank, traced around his body, sawed it out, painted it white, and placed it horizontally. For a number of years the new bell of tin and bronze was rung as an angelus, by a regularly employed sexton, each family paying \$1 towards his salary. It could be heard in most all parts of the town, but a tiny crack made it necessary to discontinue the practice. Inside the church there were two side aisles and one wide central aisle, each leading to a door in the vestibule. Three outside doors stood opposite these and a staircase at one end of the vestibule led overhead to the choir gallery. There were also side galleries as in the Union Meeting House, each having three tiers of seats. There were box pews in the galleries and on the main floor of the church, in each case built against the wall. The lower seats were in front of the box pews and there were wing pews next to the pulpit. On each door of the box pews was a white medallion with a number on it in black paint. (I have recently found two of these pew doors in our house, each in good condition and bearing the numbers 11 and 64). The panels of the galleries were painted white, and ornamented with bas-relief festoons. The pulpit was high, boxed, and part of it was supported by round pillars as were, also, the floors of the galleries. Two flights of steps led to the pulpit. The windows behind the pulpit were opposite from the choir gallery, where there were box pews built against the wall, a large platform for the orchestra, and low seats in front for the choir. A red bombazine curtain hung over the part of the gallery occupied by the choir, entirely screening them from the congregation when seated, and only their heads showed above the curtain when standing. The brick church was heated by two box stoves and lighted by tallow candles. There were no cushions or carpets of any kind in the church.

In 1825 the meeting of the General Convention of Universalist Societies and Churches was held in Hartland, then the next wealthiest town in the state (had been for twenty years), Bennington having the greatest wealth.

In 1840 the word "Benevolent" was dropped from the name of the Universalist Society.

The thirty year period that the society used the brick church

was marked by continual growth and changes. At first the preaching was chiefly doctrinal for the purpose of acquainting the congregation to the Universalist principles. The Society was always rather conservative, and the order of services was much the same as at the present time, although there were no responsive readings, no solos, and no collections. There were always two long sermons and Sunday school was held during part of the noon recess of an hour.

The old brick church was torn down in 1853, and the new one was completed in the latter part of 1854. The new church, located next to my home, is a frame building, and painted white. Some of its supports came from the old belfry, as did also some of the woodwork, the brick for the foundations, and the bell. There was quite a lot of trouble as to whether a basement should be built or not. It was built, and some dissatisfied families withdrew from the society because of it.

Congregationalism dates back to 1779 when the town and the church were one—like many European countries years ago when the state and the church were as one. Various ministers preached from 1779 to 1789 when in the latter year there was a large enough parish to call Rev. Daniel Breck to be their regular minister. These meetings were held at the Center of town in the old Union Meeting House (where all early religious sects met), which was in the early days the most important part of the town. The location was changed in 1834 to Hartland Three Corners when the present brick church was built. In 1828 the “First Congregational Society of Hartland, Vermont” was organized.

The first pastor for the Methodist faith was Rev. Charles D. Cahoon, in 1829. The Methodist Episcopal Church was built in 1839 at Hartland Three Corners and the contract included that town meetings should be held in the vestry.

At North Hartland, in 1790, the Episcopal Church was built, largely due to the influence of Roger Enos. It was moved in 1830 to its present site and has since been a Union Church.

In 1902, a small church was built by the Advents. There are not many of that faith in town today, but at that time the families of that district were nearly all Adventists, and there were two ministers who went from there.

Temperance was one of the chief reforms which came up (as it did everywhere). Formerly no one thought anything of serving

liquors to guests. Rev. Hosea Ballou and Rev. Meritt Sanford were much opposed to it, the former publishing articles in "The Universalist's Magazine". There were a few cases of drinkers being influenced by the "Washingtonian Movement" and they reformed, thus helping to preach the doctrines of temperance. Temperance picnics were held on the 4th of July, and an organization of the sons of temperance held regular meetings.

There was much strong feeling in favor of the anti-slavery organizations. One year two prominent men were able to have St. John's Day observed.

The "Masons" was at one time a popular organization to which many local residents belonged.

The "Samaritans" held full sway once, but after a time faded out of existence, as did a group of "Spiritualists" who took the waters in Fieldsville at the "Spring House" and held services for some time.

In the early nineteenth century, around 1818, a revival, general throughout the United States, passed through Hartland. The spirit of religion awakened, everyone became afraid of doing wrong, Christians engaged in prayer a great deal more, sinners became alarmed, and young people who tried to carry on their balls, parties, and foolishness, became confused and disappointed.

Several times, especially after the installing of a popular minister, the congregation and Sunday Schools increased in size by leaps and bounds. At the present time regular services are held only at the Congregational Church.

Rev. Hosea Ballou was the first settled minister. He began preaching in Hartland in March, 1803, also preaching in Woodstock and Barnard.

William Starr Ballou, nephew of Hosea, was ordained in 1832. He lived around with different families and during the last years of his stay in Hartland, his brother, who was studying theology, lived with him.

Joseph Rexter Pierce came in 1841 and in 1842 reorganized the church. The Sunday School grew greatly under him. He started the Sunday School Library and did much to interest the children in books. He held meetings quite often in the Four Corners Schoolhouse and the schoolhouse in the adjoining village, Fieldsville. He was also the first minister to become a member of the society.

The State Convention of Universalists Churches and Societies

met in Hartland in 1841. Mr. Elnathan was baptized at that time by immersion in the Lull Brook which ran near the meeting house. He came back in 1848 to preach, but his health failed soon after, causing him to give up his position.

Judson Fisher became minister in November, 1848. He organized a Sunday School and Bible Class immediately and held occasional "Conference Meetings" at the Fieldsville Schoolhouse. He was the first town superintendent of schools. He and Mrs. Fisher put on the first Sunday School Concert given in the Hartland Universalist Church.

Rev. Charles Chandler Thornton came to Hartland as a merchant, his health not allowing him to do more than to preach on Sundays for the Universalists. Interest in the church had died down, but was speedily renewed by Mr. Thornton's efforts. The church was repainted and repaired. There were still two services with Sunday School between. He was a representative from Hartland in the Vermont legislature, and held the office of town treasurer for several years.

Isabella S. MacDuff, the only woman pastor of the Universalist Church was ordained in 1897. The Sunday School and Church prospered under her leadership.

CEMETERIES

The cemetery on the Plain towards North Hartland is the oldest cemetery in town and probably the most interesting. However, few people venture in because the cemetery is almost entirely infested with poison ivy. There have been no recent burials, except for a few paupers who have died on the town farm and had no relatives to claim them.

The Willard Yard contains only about twenty marked graves, most of them of the Willard family. Like the Plain Cemetery it has had no care for years and consequently several large trees and much brush has grown up.

The Marcy Cemetery or Walker Yard is also much run down. At one side the wall has fallen down, the gate is gone, and trees and brush cover several of the graves. The most damage done in the Willard and Walker Yards is the breaking of the stones by cattle which come over the fallen down walls. In each of the three above mentioned cemeteries are many interesting old stones and epitaphs. The older stones usually have some sort of a hideous face at the top, supposed to scare away evil spirits. Note the peculiar

face on the stone shown below in the picture. The lettering is often crude and often the old "f"'s are to be found. Another characteristic of the old stones is that there is quite a lot of misspelling. Sometimes this was corrected by inserting the missing letter above the word. Other times it was left uncorrected. While a great many stones do not have epitaphs, they are still quite commonly found.

The following are the most common epitaphs:

*Sleepe on sweet babe & take thy rest
God called the home he thought it best.*

*Be still, my friends, dry up your tears,
I must lie here till Christ appears.*

*Sleep precious dust till Christ removes this day,
Sr, joins the triumphs of judgement day.*

The first appears on the stones of infant graves, the second, more often on women's graves, and the third on the graves of men as the *Sr* signifies. Occasionally the wording varies but generally they follow the same as above. Other epitaphs are:

*There is rest in Heaven.
But God, has built another home for us,
beyond the touch of time.
Tis Jesus, first and last, whose spirit
shall guide us safe home.*

Mother thy work is done.

Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.

*What have we in this barren Land,
Our Jesus is not here
Our Eyes will not be fatiffid
Until he doth appear.*

(From a stone erected around 1790)

*Not dead; but sleepeth.
His company Was Much Admird,
and By the People Was desird
But now Alafs his Glafs is Run
& Left us here this Lofs to Mourn.
(From a stone of 1780)*

The Grave a subteranious Road to bliss.

*Stop traveler as you pas by,
as you are now so once was I
as I am now so thou shalt be,
Prepare for death and follow me.
(From the grave of a Rev. Soldier)*

*Dear one, how we loved her none can tell,
How much we loved her and how well
God loved her too and thought it best
To take her home with him to rest.
Therefore be ye also ready: for
in such an hour as ye think not,
the Son of man cometh.
Death is the debt to nature due,
That I have paid and so must you.*

Besides this type of epitaph there are those that give some insight into the person's life, as:

*In early life a patriot, & defender of his
country, revered in his public & private
stations as a friend true & faithful, as a
husband affectionately kind, as a parent
tender & beloved as a man honest.*

(The above is from the grave of Gardner Marcy, a Revolutionary War Veteran)

*Dr. Harding was born in Sturbridge, Mass,
& after studyinf Physic emigrated to th-
is town, 1789, where he practiced, extensive-
ly, with universal celebrity, & unparallel-
ed sucess; extending the hand of releif &
comfort unremittingly, to the side of eve-
ry class & distinction, & was ever more
zealous for the welfare & happiness of his
patients than for medical fee or reward.*

(The above is from the gravestone of John Harding, M. D.)

The oldest gravestone in town is that of Mrs. Barret, who died in 1768. It is a very odd-looking stone, is colored a reddish brown, is broad and leans to one side. The top is adorned with a central hideous face and the spelling and lettering isn't what it might be. The wording reads:

*In Memory of Mrs.
Abigail widow of
Mr. Moses Barret
did Decr. 31st. 1768
In her 67th year
Blessed are the dead
That die in the Lord.*

INDUSTRIES

In my research I was amazed at the great amount of different industries which have been carried on in Hartland, since its establishment. There have been industries for manufacturing almost anything a person would want, which made the town nearly independent or self-sufficient.

In early times, logs were burned for "salts" or soda. These products, also corn and wheat, were often used as money. The people raised much of their food at that time, built their own homes (log cabins), and spun yarn for cloth. In each settlement there was at least one inn, blacksmith shop, saw-mill, and sometimes a cider mill. At North Hartland where cloth was hand-made, it was first heckled with teasels.

Col. Elnathan Walker, a Revolutionary War veteran, was a clothier, and also made spinning wheels for both wool and flax. He was an excellent rake-maker and supplied the local residents with rakes, chest of drawers, etc.

Abel Farwell once operated a grist mill and saw mill at Hartland Four Corners near the site of the A. W. Varney blacksmith shop.

Right after the War of 1812 there was great agricultural development and the town became noted for its livestock, wool, maple sugar, etc. About twice a year some of the more prosperous farmers would send a drove of cattle to Boston. Often other products such as tanned leather, cheese, dried apples, beans, grains, and dressed hogs were taken down in exchange for West Indian goods, fish, oysters, boxes of raisins, cotton cloth, and sometimes snuff. Many farmers also had bees, raised chickens, and their wives cared for beautiful herb gardens, worked fine needlework, made excellent cheeses and butter, which were often sent to Boston with the rest of the collection.

Of course the people couldn't do without their strong drinks,

and there was a local distillery where cider brandy, rye whiskey, and others were distilled in a copper still. I wonder if the manufacturers drank up the produce.

The Healey family made brooms and brushes from a so-called broom corn which they raised on their farm.

An attempt was made at silk culture at the Harding place in Four Corners, and some of the mulberry trees lived for a number of years. I have a silkworm cocoon which was raised there.

There used to be shoemakers, tailors, tailoresses, and dressmakers who traveled about from house to house to serve the people. There have been several tin shops, shoe shops, and harness shops.

The Harding Marble Shop did business at Four Corners and Three Corners at different times.

Large brick works were once operated at a farm near Three Corners, by Daniel Ashley.

Zebina Spaulding made shot guns and other fowling pieces in a shop near Martinsville. He was accidently shot by an old Windsor revolver.

Around 1829 Mr. William Lemmex began operating his woolen mill and store.

The foundry building was formerly used by the Sturtevant brothers as a woolen mill. Later Frederic Sillsbury had a clothes-pin factory there, and then Francis Gilbert bought it. He made all kinds of stoves there. Some of them still exist about town.

There have been several mills on the "Mill Gorge" below Hartland Three Corners, but at present the only one is a cider mill which is built on the bank near the cement bridge. The "Lemmex Woolen Mill" was there, also a carding mill, and the "Petrie and Sturtevant Woolen Mill."

On Lull Brook just below Foundryville stood the large shop of Frederick English, the mechanical genius. The shop and the dam which was also there are now both gone.

Up near Jenneville there are traces of two or three old dams. The most recent one was taken out by the 1927 flood. It furnished power by means of an overshot wheel to run the up-and-down saw in the sawmill. At present only the mill itself stands, but it is in poor condition.

A sawmill, owned and operated by Thomas Cobb near Foundryville once had a sash and blind shop connected with it.

Wheelwrights and blacksmiths have been more or less common

in all the larger villages of Hartland, and west of Hartland Four Corners there was once a carriage shop. Only a few years ago there were three blacksmiths shops in Four Corners, a village of only seventeen dwelling houses. There was also a creamery at Four Corners where both butter and cheese were made.

In the times when the cattle business was thriving, there used to be tanneries to tan the cow and other hides brought in by the neighboring farmers.

At North Hartland the most important industry was the "Ottawaquechee Woolen Mill" which at one time did a flourishing business. Oliver Brothers built the buildings and they were torn down eight or ten years ago. Since then North Hartland has been of little importance.

HOUSES

Probably the oldest house in Four Corners is the one now owned by Warren Field. Another old house is the one owned by C. F. Atwood which was standing in 1822. This is an unusual house. It is built into a knoll and the front part of the cellar extends out so that there are windows and a door. This part was partitioned off at one time, plastered, and used for a store. What is the second floor in the front part of the house is only the first floor further back. The house has been altered several times, a bay window has been put on, doors closed up, and partitions torn out and changed. The original chimneys, fireplaces, and the Dutch oven were all torn out years ago. The main part of the house, made of brick, is the oldest.

The brick schoolhouse saw many years of service. Originally it was a store, then a schoolhouse, until four years ago when a new one was built. It was bought by C. F. Atwood three years ago and converted into an attractive dwelling.

The old town hall at Four Corners, now owned by the Ladies Aid, was formerly used for a clothespin factory. The Hartland "Masons" had a lodge room there for awhile, and it was also used by the Civil War Militia Company and a place where the town meetings were held for many years.

One of the earliest stores was located on the Quechee road. Another early one was erected around 1804 by Lovejoy and Taylor. The store now owned by Paul Morrison was built about 1840 by Leonard Hamilton, and the store occupied by The First National was built in 1851 by Paul Richardson.

The New Hampshire charter reserved land for a school on the Plain, and probably a schoolhouse was built there, for in 1789 the town clerk speaks of a schoolhouse in the southern part of the town. Anyway the second schoolhouse was located at Hartland Three Corners, about half way up the hill near the Durphy place. This one was made of brick. It was heated by a fireplace, beside which were branches of twigs for licking the bad pupils, kept there so they would be dry and cut more sharply.

At Three Corners stood the white house which was moved up to the other end of the village quite a number of years ago. This little house was built by a lawyer, Mr. Merrill, and was used a few years later as a private school for young men and women. About 1850, a school for girls was taught at Three Corners by a Miss Krantz. Ten or twelve years later a private fitting-school for both young men and women was held by Miss Hyde, assisted by Miss Leonora Sturtevant. Mr. Isaac Cushman, a well-known lawyer, some years earlier, held a fitting-school for college in the brick house now owned by Mrs. Frank Durphy.

ROADS

On the old records one finds frequent reference made to the laying out of roads. The roads of Hartland are interesting. Some of the earliest roads in town can be quite easily traced out today, and of course many still run the same as when first laid out. Originally the road did not cross Lull Brook below Three Corners, but followed along the brook on the same side. Probably about the time Hartland Village, Three Corners, or Sumner's Village was laid out in 1828 the road was changed. There are three of the early roads which are known to have been named, viz; the "County Road" from Windsor to Woodstock, via Fieldsville; the "Old Post Road" which followed along the Connecticut River; and the "Windsor to Woodstock Turnpike" which was a toll road and had two toll gates. The old road that went over the hill from Four Corners, (now partly on my father's land), was part of the Windsor to Woodstock turnpike. I have never happened to trace the further end of it, so I am not certain where it comes out, but very likely it connects with the road which came along Lull Brook opposite Three Corners. It was built around 1800 and was not used more than twenty years. There was quite a large swamp which the roadbuilders had to cross, that caused them much difficulty in laying the road bed because of quicksand. Logs were first laid

lengthwise of the road. These were covered with logs arranged crosswise. Rocks were thrown in and finally the place was covered with dirt. The culverts of this road were made of four planks nailed together to form a long, narrow box. Several of these are still quite solid, but that is not so remarkable as the fact that some rails of red cedar split on the day of the battle of Bunker Hill were still solid a few years ago, and as far as I know they still are.

The present road going north from Three Corners to Four Corners was built around 1835.

TAVERNS

With all these roads being built the need for taverns or inns arose and consequently a large number of these were built, often being the only building or one of a few in a certain vicinity.

At Hartland Four Corners once stood an old brick tavern near the present hall and Post Office—in fact the hall is said to have been a part of the old tavern. The house now owned by Warren Field was also a tavern many years ago. This seems rather hard to believe as the house is rather small. I have oftentimes wondered if the house owned by my father could have been a tavern at one time. I do know that it was once a store and that later liquor was sold there—there used to be a townsman elected at the town meeting to sell liquor for medicinal and other purposes. One of these officers lived there then. One author, Miss Sturtevant, says of Four Corners, "In 1822 there was a score of buildings in this village, among them four taverns, a schoolhouse, and three blacksmith's shops. The Gilson Tavern stood on the southwest corner of the crossroads and its wing is the present town hall. This was a substantial brick structure built about 1800, and taken down by Wesley Labaree in the early 50's. The wing was used for a time as a clothespin factory and after the Civil War as an armory. It is by far the oldest hall in town." (This was written some time ago before the Damon Hall, the present town hall, was built).

At Three Corners the earliest tavern was that of Timothy Lull, Sr., the first settler. It stood towards the middle of the present village, and in the meadow opposite he had made his first home in Hartland.

The Steven's Hotel, Pavilion House, or Hotel Hartland was over 125 years old when it was torn down in 1914 for the new Damon Hall. Isaac Stevens built it some time around 1775, probably later than that date. It had been altered somewhat, with

such changes as the building of porches on the outside, a wing, and the spring floor inside—probably the best one in Vermont. The room intended for a store was used for dancing, roller-skating, and as a dining hall. In 1914 when it was torn down there was but one shed remaining of the several barns and sheds which were once clustered about. The sleeping rooms used to be on the south side and the hall faced the north. Miss Darling gives a vivid description of the stagecoach days from F. C. Sturtevant's anniversary address in her centennial history: "I remember when the stage with from four to six horses, would come thundering into town with a toot of the horn and a crack of the whiplash and pull up to Merrit's Pavilion, change horses, all passengers go into the bar-room and get a good drink of Santa Cruz rum and then continue the journey."

The home of Alexander Campbell at the Center district was a tavern for many years—a place where the old town fathers met.

Likewise at North Hartland, taverns existed at one time.

CANALS AND BRIDGES

When one hears Sumner's Falls mentioned, he usually thinks of it as a picnic place with good fishing and not as an industrial center as it once was. There is certainly scant evidence of the saw-mill, dam, canals, and locks that were once there—a few iron pegs being about the only evidence, except for a trace of the old log dam on the opposite shore.

Mr. Perez Gallup was granted "the exclusive priviledge of locking and continuing locks on Water Quechee Falls on the Connecticut through his own land in Hartland," as Tucker says, on Oct. 22, 1794 by the State Legislature. A toll of 18 cents for each loaded boat, the same for each 1000 feet of boards, and for each 6000 feet of shingles was authorized by the State.

David Sumner came to Hartland about 1805 and became interested in developing the town's roads, also in operating a ferry and bridging the Connecticut. Oct. 9, 1809, he bought the property of "The Company for Rendering Connecticut River Navigable by Water Quechee Falls," together with the sawmill and use of the falls. He carried on a large lumber business between Hartland and Dalton, N. H. (which town he owned), but his lumberyards were chiefly at Springfield, Mass., and further south at Hartford and Middletown Connecticut. Some years later, Nov. 5, 1830, hav-

ing received a charter "The Connecticut River Valley Steamboat Company" was organized and locks and a canal were built, as were other roads to the Falls. The Aterquechey Canal was one of the three canals in Vermont, the two others were at Bellows Falls and White River Junction, near Wilder.

The steamboats were in use only a few years and at last only small boats were sent through the locks. Flatboats had also been used to transport goods.

The mill and dam were destroyed and washed away many years ago, in the "freshet of 1857."

David Sumner built the first bridge across the Connecticut from Hartland, in 1821, after organizing a company for that purpose, but this was taken out by a freshet. The bridge that was finished in 1841, was taken out in 1859. After this Mr. Sumner had a ferry operating across the river. He was planning to build a third bridge, some say, but death interfered with his plans.

The lull in river traffic was caused by the improved highways, and likewise the building of the railroad in 1848 took away so much business that a bridge across the Connecticut at that point was no longer very necessary.

LITERATURE

To my knowledge there have been no really famous authors native to Hartland, nevertheless several people have written interesting pamphlets, articles (which have occasionally appeared in magazines and papers), and books (in a few cases).

Hosea Ballou, one of the best and most effective ministers the town ever had, came here to preach in 1803, having, also, parishes in Woodstock, Barnard, Bethel, and Bridgewater. He was a strong believer in the "Profession of Faith" which had been adopted at a General Convention of Universalist Churches and Societies, and preached it frequently at his churches. "A Treatise on Atone-ment," his most noted book, was first printed in 1805. A copy of this book printed by "William Haskell at Bennington, Vermont in 1811 for Ebenezer Walbridge," is in the collection of books of the Baptist Society in the library at Vermont Academy. His "Notes on The Parables of the New Testament" was written soon after. Both of these were written during his pastorate in Hartland. In 1807 the first Fourth of July celebration in Hartland was held. At this time an interesting pamphlet was written by him and published. This gave an account of the celebration, with also his speech, an

ode and a patriotic song by two Hartland people. At the General Convention held in 1807 Rev. Ballou was one of a committee appointed to publish a suitable hymn book.

Josiah Brown, the poet, was the earliest contributor of literature. After his death in 1827, a paper bound volume entitled "Poems Written on Various Subjects" was printed by David Watson of Woodstock. A preface to it was written by Robert Bartlett, minister and author. He also preached the funeral sermon. After the funeral the characteristic Masonic Services (he was a prominent Mason) were performed at the tomb. Mr. Bartlett said in his preface, "The brethren with their usual accustomed solemnity, deposited the sprigs of cassia on the tomb and came away and left their brother in the land of silence and death." There is an interesting tradition concerning Brown's death—that he committed suicide because people thought he had something to do with the Morgan abduction. It is also said that his body was not placed in the tomb but buried in Gallup's field. The grave was ploughed over a crop of wheat sown, so that the grave might not be discovered. His body was taken up some time after and moved to the Weed Cemetery, then moved still later to the Three Corners Cemetery. Some of his poems are an acrostic on the name of Robert Bartlett, "The Universal Christian Church In Hartland", and "Ode to the Fourth of July."

Rev. Robert Bartlett, who was the pastor of the Universalist Church for eight years from 1822 to 1830, published his "A Serious and Candid Examination of The Present Government of Sunday Schools" at Windsor in 1823. He represented Hartland at the Vermont Legislature in 1825, and was the editor of the "Christian Repository" from 1827 to 1829. The "Christian Repository" was a Universalist magazine published at Woodstock for many years.

Hon. Hampden Cutts, who made his home at the "Fairview" farm, came here in 1833 and lived in town for twenty-eight years. His chief contribution, a brief history of Hartland, was burned before being printed. During his stay in town he quite often gave readings from Shakespeare, and a little pamphlet of the press' opinions of the readings was printed in 1859. Another pamphlet, "The Life and Public Services of Hon. Wm. Jarvis," his father-in-law, and an address given before the Windsor County Agricultural Society in 1849 were also printed. Mrs. Cutts wrote a lengthy biography of her father, Hon. Wm. Jarvis, who was at one time

the United States Consul-General at Lisbon, Portugal, Mr. Cutts sister, Miss Mary Cutts, was quite a well known poet. Her books the "Autobiography of a Clock, and Other Poems," which appeared in 1852, and "Grondalla, a Romance In Verse," were written under the pen name of "Idamore."

Mrs. Annie (Cutts) Howard, a daughter of Hampden Cutts, is well known in the literary world.

Rev. J. Q. Bittenger, who preached at the Congregational Church from 1869-1873, was the author of a "Sermon on The Life and Character of Deacon Elias Bates," an address on Benjamin Hinman Steele, and lastly, "A History of Haverill, N. H."

Dr. Isabel Hayes Barrows wrote a biography of her husband, famous for his prison reforms, and "The Shaybacks In Camp." One chapter tells of her experiences in India with the family of Dr. Allen Hazen, a member of the committee who revised the Bible in the Mahrathi language.

Several books were written by Mr. Emory J. Haynes, including, "A Farmhouse Cobweb," and "Wedding In Wartime." He lived in Hartland for part of his boyhood, as his father was pastor of the Methodist Church.

William Emerson Damon, accompanied by Professor Albert S. Bickman, an assistant of Professor Agassiz, visited Bermuda in his early life, a place famous for its brilliantly colored fish. He was the first person to succeed in bringing Bermuda fish to the aquaria of this country, transporting over 600 varieties. At one time he was associated with P. T. Barnum, the famous showman. In 1879 his famous book "Ocean Wonders" came out, describing the tropical inhabitants very accurately. Directions and methods for keeping both fresh and salt water aquaria were included in his work.

Joseph Henry Dunbar, who taught in many Vermont and New Hampshire schools also wrote a few books, such as, "Thirty Lessons in Latin Verbs," and "Dunbar's Inductive Arithmetic."

Then, of course, there are the more recent books and pamphlets, as, "Hartland Nature Club" by Evaline Darling Morgan; "Historical Souvenir of Hartland" by Florence Sturtevant; "History and Anniversary of Hartland" by Nancy Darling (in the *Vermont*); "Hartland in the Revolutionary War," by Dennis Flower; "Hartland in Letters" by Harold G. Rugg; "Centennial History of the Universalist Church" by Nancy Darling; and a "History of The Congregational Church."

PEOPLE

The earliest doctors were "Indian Doctors" who depended upon rattlesnake oil for all their cures.

There were several doctors in the Harding family, notably Dr. John Harding, Sr., who practiced twenty-five years in town. His son, John Harding, Jr. carried on his work and used to make some of his own medicine, using vegetables chiefly. His saddlebags and some of his medicine are in the possession of the Hartland Historical Society.

Dr. Joseph A. Gallup was the founder of the Vermont Medical College and is buried at North Hartland.

Dr. Friend Sturtevant, the only educated doctor for some years, practiced extensively. He and an elder brother, Thomas, studied medicine at Middleboro, Mass. He came to Woodstock in 1804, to Hartland in 1807. He was an army surgeon in the War of 1812 and returned home to practice until his death. He was buried in the Plain Cemetery.

Dr. Isabel Hayes Barrows, practiced for some years as an oculist and later took up stenography. She was the daughter of Henry Hayes, who died during the Civil War, as a surgeon in the United States Army.

Among the well known lawyers were Judge Elihu Luce, Isaac N. Cushman, John Colby, and John S. Marcy.

Judge Hampden Cutts was a probate judge and once the Vermont vice-president of the New England Historical Society.

John C. Thompson and Hon. Benjamin Hinman Steele were judges in the Vermont Supreme Court.

William Willard was an assistant judge of the court of Inferior Common Pleas as far back as 1768, as a Hertford officer of the Cumberland County under New York.

Elias Weld was an assistant judge of the Windsor County Court during the years 1782-90.

Major General Roger Enos, who commanded all the military forces in Vermont from 1781 to 1791 lived at North Hartland. The town of Enosburg was granted to him and his associates in 1780 and he also was a representative to the State legislature. His daughter, Jerusha, married Col. Ira Allen, brother of Ethan Allen of the Green Mountain Boys.

Dr. Paul Spooner, who also resided in North Hartland on the Gates farm now called "Fairview," was one of the founders of the

state of Vermont. He was a judge of the Vermont Supreme Court, Lieutenant Governor, member of a committee of correspondence, a delegate to congress, one of the signers of the Vermont Constitution, and a Register of Probate for Windsor County. It was estimated that between 500 and 1000 people attended his funeral. He was buried in a cemetery near "Fairview," but had no gravestone, so the exact location of his grave is not known.

David Hubbard Sumner,³ who was born in Claremont, N. H., carried on a mercantile business near the mill gorge soon after coming to Hartland. In 1809 he opened a store at Middletown, Connecticut, which he continued up to 1856 with a few changes in partners. Once there was also a branch firm in Louisiana. Mr. Sumner was chosen the captain of the militia company, organized in 1812, of this town. He was appointed postmaster around 1813 and held that office for 20 years. His daughter, Martha, married Benjamin H. Steele. They lived in the old homestead with her parents.

The Steele place, which was the Sumner homestead has really been unoccupied by any family for some thirty years. David Steele lived there in one or two of the rooms until quite recently and his sister, Mary, (still living) also lived there for a time. This old fashioned brick house stands on a hill in Three Corners, but was nearly screened from view by brush and weeds. It was bought three or four years ago by Mrs. Claire Hatch, who with her son, Marvin, run an antique shop there. The house has been restored, the brush cleared away, trees pruned, and the lawn smoothed out and grassed over. A year or so ago, an artistic fence, the exact replica of the original, was built. It stands just a little nearer the house than the former one did. The front door is of the typical colonial style with the small windows above it. The house contained many antiques, most of which were kept by the owners, the rest being sold by auction.

Daniel Willard, of Hartland, was elected president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in 1910. He has been president longer than any other president of the company, founded 108 years ago.

The Harding family was a very prominent one in town for many years. They lived in a large brick house at Four Corners, which was built in 1827. This house has the characteristic colonial door-

³His very extensive commercial and personal papers are in the Vermont Historical Society. *Editor.*

way, fireplaces, and the exterior walls have pillars of brickwork, about two feet wide, protruding about three inches from the walls of the house between the windows. These reach nearly to the roof where they are joined by an oval arch. It was bought two years ago by Mr. Parkes of New Jersey, a cousin to the well known preacher, Rev. Parkes Cadman. The house has been restored to the attractive dwelling that it was in earlier days.

Henry Harding of this family was a civil engineer and a pioneer in the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad. He was also employed at different times by the United States Engineering Corps on river and harbor improvements.

Other important men from Hartland include, John Holbrook, author and president of the Jefferson Military College in Mississippi (years ago); and Stephen Noyes Winslow, the Commercial Editor of the Philadelphia Inquirer, Bulletin, and Evening Telegraph.

Miss Darling says of one inventor, "Mr. Benjamin Livermore, a relative of Mr. English's (Frederick), invented 'Livermore's Permutation Typograph or Pocket Printing Machine' in 1857." The following appeared in the Boston Traveler: "The polished steel case, which contains the apparatus, is five inches long, two and a half inches broad, and one and a half inches thick. This contains the type, the ink, the paper, and the machinery. At one end of the case are six keys, on which the fingers of the operator play, as on a piano. The rapidity of the printing is almost equal to that of writing with a pen, as most persons write. One would not believe all this possible beforehand, but when he is presented with a sentence legibly printed. . . and undeniably printed then and there, he is no longer skeptical." This invention was praised by several college professors and William Lloyd Garrison said, "Success to whatever shall lessen toil and facilitate the action of the mind."

Another one of Mr. Livermore's inventions was a cement pipe. This worked all right in Summer, but the freezing cold of Winter cracked it very easily, so it was not considered to be of value.

David Smith patented more than sixty different inventions.

The Sturtevant brothers, woolen manufacturers, discovered the way to cleanse wool by means of salt.

Henry Dunbar invented a steam packing for engines. He was an engineer who set up locomotives in many foreign countries, chiefly in South America.

Oliver Brothers, who built the Ottaquechee Woolen Mill at North Hartland, invented the self-operating spinning jack.

The Hartland Nature Club was organized in 1907. It now has over sixty members living, and about twenty others have died. When the Damon Hall was built, two more rooms were added on, due to the efforts of Mrs. W. E. Damon, to be shared by the Nature Club and Historical Society. Its previous home had been in the old hotel. Here are kept the clubs collections, a valuable butterfly and moth collection, a fine herbarium, collection of egg shells, minerals, and other things of interest. Through the efforts of many of the members, lists of fauna, flora, and other wild life native to Hartland have been made.

The Hartland Historical Society occupies the room adjoining the Nature Club room. Here are displayed many rare and interesting antiques. A few of the things belonging to the Lamb family are kept there, which is fortunate for they would have all been destroyed in the disastrous fire, which burned ten of the buildings owed by Carl Lamb, last summer. One of the houses that burned was built in 1793 and had hardly been changed since then. I remember looking into the attic of this house, which was full of antiques. These would have brought a fortune. Of course the owner wouldn't have thought of parting with them, nor did he dream that he would lose them in this way. The other house on the opposite side of the road also contained many antiques, especially the excellent needlework of Miss Harriet Lamb. Both houses had been owned by the family for generations.

In 1913 the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the first settlement in town was celebrated. Prominent men, such as Governor Fletcher of Vermont, and Gilbert A. Davis, the lawyer and historian, spoke. A large parade with all sorts of floats was a big affair, and most interesting of all was the historical exhibit in the old hotel.

The Damon Hall was a gift to the town in memory of Luther and Betsey Thayer Damon and their children. It was dedicated Dec. 2, 1915, when at that time Daniel Willard said in his speech, "The town hall of New England is the true symbol of real democracy, and the people of Hartland are to be congratulated because of the beautiful and permanent structure dedicated this day to their permanent use."

Many Vermont towns are greatly run down and in debt, but

Hartland is still quite well off, having only a small debt and very few, if any, unemployed. There are several fine houses, especially those in Three Corners, and recently a few old houses have been bought by wealthy people to be either restored or remodeled into attractive dwellings. There are at present two concrete roads going through Hartland and one tarvia road which is gradually being extended to meet the concrete road which goes from Taftsville to White River Junction. There are two concrete bridges with two more under construction. The present area is 29,912 acres, the population is 1,266, tax rate, \$2.50, and the Grand List is \$8,656.59. There are three post offices, one at Four Corners, Three Corners, and North Hartland, and two railroad stations on the Central Vermont Railroad, at Hartland, and North Hartland (Evarts).

The businesses and industries at Hartland are: insurance, Allen Britton, Wright Foster; two garages; manufacturers, A. W. Martin—doors, sashes, and blinds, E. N. Martin, lumber, F. E. Barrell, Hartland Grain Co., and a cider mill; mechanics and artisans, Automobile Paint Shop, and a machinist and electrician; merchants, Evans & Evans, Paul Morrison, the First National, C. A. French, meat; and the Hartland Telephone Company.

At North Hartland are, a garage, a lumber mill, and two merchants.

At Four Corners are, a merchant, printer and publisher, a saw-mill, blacksmith shop, and C. F. Atwood's business—trucking milk to the Bellows Falls Co-operative Creamery.



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